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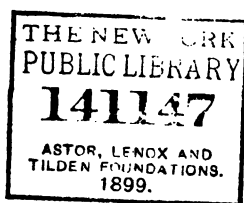
Lectures

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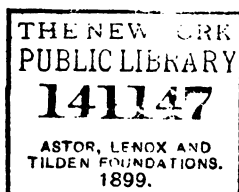
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rious civilization, such as had never been known before,—a brotherhood of man regenerated by the Fatherhood of the Incarnate God, victorious under the banners of Calvary, strong in the indivisible unity, strong in the invincible individuality of the indwelling Spirit—the Holy Catholic Church, indissolubly One, the Communion of Saints possessing the individual inspiration of a heavenly birth.

It was to outlive all time, but through the ages of time it was to meet fresh fights and win fresh victories. It was to be the tabernacle of God among men. This kingdom must adapt itself to every legitimate form of human society, as well as to every legitimate aspiration of the human heart. Human society tends to crush man's individuality, but the society of grace ennobles each man that is born therein with an exhaustless treasury of powers suited to the temperament of each. The poet deplores the levelling progress of earthly civilization :

“The individual withers and the world is more and more.”

Earthly resources are limited and mechanical. They droop. They die. Not so is the kingdom of Heaven, the living Body of Him who is seated at the Right Hand of God. He became truly Man, and His Church is the

extension of that Humanity which He has assumed. That is true of the Church which is true of Him.

Homo sum : nihil humani a Me alienum puto.

His fulness is for His Church as a whole. The Church is His Body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. What operates in any one of His members is not drained from the rest. Fresh faculties springing up in each show the unabated vigor which animates all the company of the faithful—individually exercised—corporately possessed—limitless in variety, limitless in intensity, as flowing down to each member from the limitless heritage of the Eternal Sonship.

The Apostles went forth to make saints, supernatural men, citizens of the Church, as a supernatural Empire.

They took the Empire which they found existing, as the basis of that Spiritual Empire which they were sent to found. The regenerating grace of the Apostolic Church was to inspire the same mass of humanity which the military power of imperial despotism had dominated with devastation. The truth of human nature indicated that the institutions of civil society must be the form into which the Divine life should be infused.

What, then, was that form?

The cities of the empire had each their senate (*βουλῇ*), an *ordo* or *curia*, the members of which were under the presidency of one who was called *dictator* or *defensor civitatis*, and his jurisdiction extended over the suburban population (*προάστεια*) in the surrounding villages.

These councillors in modern time would be called *aldermen*, or in ecclesiastical language, *presbyters*. The chief was the *mayor*, who, in ecclesiastical language, was afterward called the *bishop*, the supervisor. This chief officer was at first called an *apostle* (*i.e.*, commissioner) or *angel* (*i.e.*, messenger). So simply did the seed of life begin to spring up throughout the world.

Time went on. The title of Apostle, hallowed because our Lord gave it to the original twelve, was then restricted to those who had seen our Lord in the flesh, the original commissioners by whom, as stewards of Divine mysteries, the powers of the kingdom of heaven had been first of all dispensed to the nations of the world.

Names change with changing history; life is unchangeable. "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and to-day and forever," is the watchword of all missionary progress. Our work now is the same as that of the Church in the beginning.

Therefore the ministry then and now must be identical. God, who gives work, gives power. Have miracles ceased? If so, it is not because God has stinted His love. The fault is our own. Were our faith now as in those days of the martyrs, the like signs would follow them that believe. Miracles do not belong to an Apostolic ministry, but they are evidence of the Church's faith. Miracles were a blessing when the faithful had to die for their faith. Miracles would be a curse if they were permitted to gratify the adulterous cravings of a worldly heart.

As the Roman roads prepared the way for the Gospel preacher, so did the civic organization of the Empire prepare the way for the ministerial organization of grace in the world-wide City of God. But the Roman Empire was an earthly one. Its power was from below. Its government was only regulative. The Christian Church was the kingdom of heaven upon earth. Its power was from Christ, the Head of that kingdom, a power from above. Its officers were much more than magistrates to regulate. They "ministered the Holy Ghost." They were the organs of Christ's glorified Body extending itself by spiritual power. S. Paul speaks of that Body as being so transformed as to "fill all things," and as a result of

this transformation, "He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the Body of Christ; till we all attain unto the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ" (Eph. iv. 11-14). The river of the water of life, which makes glad the heavenly City, began to pour its quickening tide into the reservoirs of imperial lifelessness. Thus was carried out the great commission of the One High Priest and Apostle of our profession. "As My Father has commissioned Me, so send I you." Our Lord sent forth His Apostles to execute the commission which He had Himself received, of establishing the kingdom of grace as a corporate organism coextensive with the population of the earth, the Church Catholic. He announced Himself at the outset, saying, "the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me" (Luke iv. 18). He sends forth His Apostles in like manner, saying, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." He promised to be with them by the personal co-operation of this His consubstantial Spirit unto the end of the world (Matt. xxviii. 20). The ministry of the Spirit therefore cannot lose any

of its original power, for the mission of the Church is but the extension of the commission of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Roman Empire, with its careful municipal arrangements, was as a thirsty land marked out by conduits and pits, an Egypt waiting for a mightier Nile to overflow. And now the supernatural waters of grace are come! A sudden outpouring from the heavenly hills! The waters of the baptismal covenant turn the very stones to life. See the desert of humanity blossoming as the garden of the Lord! See the ministry of grace taking possession of the cities of the Empire in the Name, the Power, the Spirit of Christ.*

* "Another division of the Roman Empire was into provinces and dioceses. A *province* was the cities of a whole region subjected to the authority of one chief magistrate, who resided in the *metropolis* or chief city of the province. This was commonly a *prætor* or *proconsul*, or some magistrate of the like eminence and dignity. A *diocese* was still a larger district—[let me call your attention to the difference between the ancient use of the word diocese, and our modern use of the same title. It was the larger, it is now the smaller, combination of ecclesiastical ministries]—containing several provinces within the compass of it; in the capital city of which district a more general magistrate had his residence, whose power extended over the whole diocese to receive appeals and determine all causes that were referred to him for a new hearing from any city within the district. And this magistrate was sometimes called an *eparchus* or *vicarius* of the Roman Empire. . . . The division into *dioceses* began only about the

The Catholic Church, says Gibbon (C. 20) was administered by the spiritual and legal jurisdiction of eighteen hundred Bishops, of whom one thousand were seated in the Greek and eight hundred in the Latin Provinces of the Empire.

This vast organization was held together, not by the grasp of an individual, as the civil relations were sustained by a central government, but by the inherence of a vital power operative throughout the whole. The Holy Ghost indwelt them all. This Empire had life, and life is a circulation of energy which binds together many individuals with reciprocal interests in common activity and conscious fellowship. As there could be no individual Christian who did not belong to a Church, so there could be no individual Church which did not belong to the One, indivisible, Catholic Church.

Let us go on to consider how this life acted.

The Dioceses, as the elementary units of the Church Empire, were assembled in Provincial Councils. This was the law of life. So it was

time of Constantine. But the cantoning of the Empire into *provinces* was long before ; by some referred to Vespasian, by others reckoned still more ancient and coeval with the first establishment of the Christian Church."—Bingham, ix., § 3.

ordained by the Apostolical Canons (C. 38), which date from the second century, that Councils should be held twice in each year.

Care was thus taken to obviate the exclusion of anyone from the Church by party spirit, *φιλονεικία*, or narrowmindedness, *μικροψυχία*, or personal dislike, *ἀηδία*.

“The Bishops of each nation ought to know who among them is accounted the first, whom they should regard as a head, and do nothing of unusual importance without his judgment. But each must do only those things which belong to his own Parish [Diocese] and the country districts under him. But let not even him (the Metropolitan) do anything without the judgment of all, for so there shall be concord and God shall be glorified through our Lord in the Holy Ghost.”

This Canon is quoted as “an ancient Canon of our Fathers,” by the Council of Antioch, A.D. 349 (Can. 9), and is plainly an evidence of the corporate action of the Church from the earliest times in her national and local aspects, without any centralization in the Church of Rome, and even before the formation of the three great Patriarchates.

Churches multiply throughout the world, but all are one. All drink into one Spirit, by fellowship with the living Body of Christ into which they are assumed.

In accordance with this principle, S. Paul

left Titus in Crete to establish elders in every city (*κατὰ πόλιν*). Such were the bishops, the overseers or inspectors of the Church at Philippi. "With the opening of a second century a new phraseology began." (Lightfoot on Phil., p. 98). "Elders" and "Bishops" came to designate different orders. The phraseology was changed, but the form of government, the living fact, remained the same. The city became a Bishopric, and the groups of cities, as they were combined for purposes of state, became also Provinces of the Church.

Bingham enumerates the civil divisions of the Empire and adds, "It is very plain that the Church took her model in setting up Metropolitan and Patriarchal power from this plan of the State." This is illustrated by the fact that the Church did not recognize Jerusalem as a Patriarchate for a long time, but this, the natural Mother See of Christendom, was subject to Cæsarea. The Fathers of Constantinople were right when they attributed the primacy of Rome to civil, and not to spiritual, antecedents.

The Bishop could not be elected to his see without the approbation of his neighbors, three of whom must take part in his consecration. The Metropolitan possessed a veto, and an appeal could be made without difficulty to the

Court of the Metropolitan, to remedy any miscarriage of justice in the exercise of discipline.

The people of the Diocese assented to the election, and could bring forward any accusation, if such there were, against the moral character of their elected ruler.

The head of the Diocese was thus indeed the spiritual father of his people and their true and adequate representative in whatever Councils might be called.

It was a wondrous empire of love, contrasting every way with the brute violence of military usurpation. The Spiritual Body was upheld in living unity. Foul ulcers might disfigure it, but it had a recuperative vitality. The oneness of the Body was felt by all alike. Men might strive for mastery in wicked ways, but the intensity of their strife showed the powerful hold of organic unity which they could not ignore.

This community of life gave each an interest in all. To suffer and rejoice with one another is the law which governs all the members of Christ's Body. We cannot really gain a healthy condition by ourselves. Easygoing indifference does not bring health. There must be active unity through every part.

In reading of early times our wonder is excited not only at the wide spread of the Chris-

tian Church, as Tertullian describes it, penetrating all society, and conquering where Roman legions never trod, but also at the frequency of communication, and the quickness of interest, which showed that Christians were one in the life of grace and the hope of the Gospel which they heard to be in their brethren, although they had never seen their face in the flesh. There was a Divine electricity in Christian love which might well disregard all earthly distances, since the Catholic Church in every part of the world energized with that Almighty Spirit Who bound them in unity, lifting them up together to dwell with Jesus in the reality of life at the Right Hand of God.

Such was the normal condition of Christendom, and to fail of it is to be dead. No individual lived for himself, for there could be no individual life apart from the Body. The martyr lived to die—he died to live—in the joyous omnipotence of the Communion of Saints.

In such a state of things the meeting together of Bishops in Council was no mere result of occasional necessity. It was the habitual expression of unchanging faith.

Each Bishop felt the power of the Holy Ghost as entrusted to himself for the strengthening of his flock, but he felt its individuality all the more because he felt it as the all-pervading,

all-inspiring breath of Christendom, fulfilling the promise of Christ's effectual presence where two or three should be gathered together in His Name. The great principle of corporate Church Life is equally violated, whether the community of the faithful be petrified under the wintry congelation of an absolute monarchy, or pulverized into the cloudy helplessness of disconnected atoms.

Although no Bishop could interfere within the Diocese of another, yet no Bishop could act alone without the concurrence of his comprovincials.

The small limits of an ancient *Diocese* did not ordinarily give scope for such legislative enterprise as a Bishop of high, Hildebrandine genius might initiate. The larger combinations of Provinces had not only extension, but consideration, efficiency, and permanence.

The Dioceses were small, but the people were interested in the Province as a larger unit. Frequent conference for local action was a guide to the energy, and a check to the sluggishness, of any one prelate. It maintained unity of aim, and stimulated practical endeavor, and thus the supernatural hope of the individual Christian was fostered by the vital efficiency of the Body, making increase of itself in love.

The Bishop was not an authority removed

by multiplicity of conflicting duties from personal intimacy with the separate members of his flock. He was not lifted up into an isolation in which the suspicions of class feeling and the misrepresentations of party spirit were constantly endangering the moral influence which was his due. He did not need committees of priests or laymen to guard the supposed rights of a supposed opposition. As Dean Stanley says, "The Bishops were literally the representatives of the Christian communities over which they presided." Yes. They were the ministry of God's love to the people. They gathered up in their one person the love of the people toward God. There can be in the Church no rights as of one man, or of one class against another, no Bishops' rights, no priests' rights, no laymen's rights. It is God alone who has eternal rights. The Personality which gathers up the Church is indeed Divine. Christ is the Head, we are the members of His Body. The aim of each must be the good of all. We suffer or rejoice together.

That community of interest which socialism seeks vainly to evoke from the rotting carcase of humanity, was from the very first the law of the Christian society regenerated with the life of God. The Catholic Church is no bundle of lifeless, loveless units. It is the Communion

of Saints. There is a community of wisdom which ought to regulate the administration of the Church of God, and that wisdom is only to be attained by love, by unity, by common counsel, by the acknowledgment of the Holy Ghost, ready to act, not sporadically and upon occasion, but at all times, and through those legitimate organs which He Himself has both appointed and anointed. So did He, who gave to each individual Bishop his sufficiency for the immediate purposes of sacramental life, and local discipline, act with the Church in her Provincial Councils as an Ever-present Guide. Bishop, priest, and layman felt the responsibility of Truth. With one mind they strove together for the faith of the Gospel.

It does not seem a matter worth consideration whether the Councils of the Church were instituted by human or Divine authority. They have anyhow a Divine origin, for they have their origin in the very nature of things. The Church being an indivisible unit, a corporation having an inherent vitality proper to itself, it is evident that the action of the Church must be a combined and undivided action. The acts of the various portions of the Church lack their vital authority until they come forth as the action of the whole Body. "There is one Body and one Spirit" (Eph. iv. 4).

It was in harmony with this idea that the Apostles held their first Council at Jerusalem; and that primary Council is always taken as supplying in some sort the model after which later Councils were organized. In some sort: but yet it must be remembered that there are some points of great difference between that Council and later ones.* The Apostles had

* Dr. Pusey, in his work upon the Councils calls our attention to these differences.

"The Council of Jerusalem was infallible. . . . To have questioned the Apostles' teaching would have been to deny the faith, and to destroy its foundations. The full inspiration of the Apostles was the guarantee of God for the truth and Divinity of the whole Faith. If the Apostles could have erred in one matter of faith thus solemnly brought for their decision, they might have erred in all. The people were present at the Council of Jerusalem, but to hear and to obey the words of God delivered through the Apostles' mouth to them and to the whole Church of God. True, they did speak: they even disputed; but when? Before the Apostles spoke, 'certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed' seem somewhat clamorously to have urged their plea. . . . S. Luke says, 'when there had been much disputing.' But when an inspired Apostle had spoken, '*then*,' S. Luke relates, 'all the multitude kept silence and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul. . . . Without that plenary inspiration the Council of Jerusalem would have had no authority to prescribe its decree. Of the Apostles, 'James, Cephas and John who seemed to be pillars' were probably alone present with Barnabas and Paul. . . . There was no representation of those absent. . . . The laity at Jerusalem had no authority over those of Antioch or of the rest of the Church, nor were they entitled to accept the decree in the name of the rest. *They* had not been

their individual infallibility. The decree of this Apostolical Council was of full force by virtue of such Apostolical authority. It may be objected therefore that such infallibility, residing as it did in the individual Apostles, superseded all necessity of a Council. So indeed it would have done, if Simeon or any other of the Apostles had possessed it as a Divine privilege in a higher degree than the others, or in such a manner that their utterance would be ineffectual without his sanction. But in Jerusalem James was actual President of this Council, and Cephas is mentioned in the second place when S. Paul enumerates the three pillars of the Church in that city. Each of the Apostles had his own infallibility, and therefore there could be no division of opinion among them ; but although the infallibility was complete in each, it was combined in all, and therefore no one

consulted by the rest. Paul and Barnabas were sent 'to Jerusalem unto the Apostles and Elders about this question.' 'The Apostles and Elders came together for to consider of this matter.' Paul and Timothy gave to the Churches which they visited 'the decrees that were ordained of the Apostles and Elders which were at Jerusalem, not to examine, nor to receive of their own mind, but 'for to keep.' Being the result of full inspiration, it forms no precedent at all ; for the decree issued was binding at once upon all the Church, whereas the decrees of Councils obtain their authority from their reception by the Bishops of the whole Church."

of them could exercise his own gift in a separatist self-sufficiency. Such an act would have partaken of a schismatical character. It would have been a moral wrong, a sacrilege against the whole Body, if one of the Apostles had undertaken to settle the dispute without seeking the concurrence of the rest.

It is noticeable also that, although Peter and John were present, James was the President of this Council, and this James was probably not one of the original twelve, but was Our Lord's Brother, to whom Jesus appeared after his resurrection. He presided as being Bishop of Jerusalem.

So, then, although the infallibility of Peter or John individually could gain nothing from the deliberations of a Council, yet it would seem as if they could not exercise it by themselves alone. S. James, the President, and the Elders who disputed, could add no personal weight to the decision of those two. To us, indeed, the authority of Paul and Barnabas would seem entirely to outweigh whatever those Elders might allege, but the conciliar action was necessary in order that the mind of Christ, speaking by the Holy Ghost, might have its proper utterance through the Church.

There was, therefore, much dispute between the Elders of the Church of the Circumcision,

and the Apostles of the Gentiles. The matter was by this means developed in its various bearings. S. John, for ought we know, may have been a contemplative participator in the deliberation. S. Peter, as the head of the Circumcision party, delivered a speech which is recorded, pronouncing in favor of Gentile freedom; then the discussion ceased. Barnabas and Paul gave an account of the upgrowth of Gentile Christianity, which no doubt was a wonderful revelation to the brethren of Jerusalem, far exceeding what any missionary report in our own day could possibly be; for it showed not how great was the work of God among the Gentiles, but it showed that a community had risen up to the fulness of Christian life altogether apart from the traditions of Mosaism. It stirred their exultation not merely as a matter of degree, but as the stupendous disclosure of an unimagined reality. We can well understand how this missionary report would kindle and consume with the flames of holy gratitude the loose shavings of carnal prejudice whose litter might still be choking up the minds of the Jewish party. S. James then, as President, gave the decision to which all assented. The laity who listened had taken no part in the discussion, but probably they joined in the practical execution of the decree, as they may have

voted upon the election of Judas and Silas to be commissioners, along with Paul and Barnabas, for bearing the letter to the brethren at Antioch.

This Council was the final historic act of the Jewish Church. It is the last occasion on which S. Peter is mentioned in the Acts. At Antioch the faithful had already assumed the name of Christians. The Church now could rejoice in her Catholicity, the blessedness of that name which is as ointment poured forth, the glorious liberty of the Gospel of Christ. When S. Peter afterward came to Antioch, we know how he was led into a breach, not of the letter of this decree nor of the doctrine which it involved, but of its spirit; and he submitted to the rebuke of the young and impetuous leader whom he, by his own speech at the Apostolical Council had supported. From the chair of Antioch he supervised the Jewish Christians, visiting, in all probability, the large community at Babylon. The schools at Edessa and Nisibis were probably developed under his influence. Their writers seem to belong to the Petrine family. From Babylon he wrote to the strangers, the Jews sojourning abroad, scattered throughout Asia Minor, and in the last year of his life the two Apostles who were present at this Council met for the last time on

earth, being joined together in martyrdom at Rome.

How glorious was that junction in martyrdom of the Jewish Christian Church, which was to pass away, and the Gentile Church, which was to continue to the end. It is interesting for us now to follow these events, because they serve to exemplify what ought to be the result of a Council conducted by men of God, who knew that they were acting under the power of the Holy Ghost. The Hebrew Church saw that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto Paul as the Gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter, for the missionary report delivered to them showed that he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in the junior Apostle toward the Gentiles. All was done in the Spirit of God. All was done to the glory of God. The petals of Catholic Christianity developed out of the calyx of the Mother Church at Jerusalem. Even an Apostle who had taken part in the discussion felt the power of the decree. The Church that should be co-extensive with humanity expanded from the limitations of her Pentecostal infancy without injury to her organic power or forfeiture of her heavenly faith.

Would that all Councils afterward had been

conducted in the same spirit and had produced similar fruits of love. But what, though the human element in the Church came too strongly forward at most times, nevertheless Councils still issued their decrees with the formula, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." The Presence of the Holy Ghost was assured to them by the words of Christ, who had promised to be with His Church to the end of the world. He was still in the midst of them by the controlling power of His Holy Spirit. That Presence, however, was not to supersede the moral requirements of human subordination. The Holy Ghost did not transfer to the members of the Council His own perfect wisdom as an infallible charm. No, He gave it to them as an unfailing inspiration whose truth should be apparent, according to the measure in which they sought it. And His Divine Person helping them to speak, did not lose His own reality by any fusion with the human agents in whom He dwelt. Sorely has that Blessed Spirit been grieved by the carnal passions, the strife and debate of human reason, which have profaned His sanctuary. Nevertheless, by His secret overruling power He has made even the worst of men subservient to His glorious purpose of building up the Body of Christ. Indeed, it is this contrariety between His Presence and

man's wilfulness, between man's vehemence foaming with fruitless excitement and His own Divine calmness accomplishing the predestination of Eternal Love, which makes it so specially manifest that the triumph of God's Truth has not been the result of human skill, but purely and simply the work of God.

Think of a Council meeting together to deliberate.

The Holy Scriptures were ordinarily placed in the centre, and the members of the Council sat in a circle around. Of course, in a Provincial Council the Metropolitan would preside, and in a Council of a Patriarchate, which was called a national, general, universal Council, or a *concilium regionis*, the Patriarch would naturally do the same. When the Council included more than one Patriarchate, so as to be in any sense Œcumenical, we might expect that the Bishop of Rome, as the chief bishop of Christendom, would occupy that position. This would not imply anything more than that primacy of honor which was confessedly his due. As a matter of fact, however, he was never present at any of the Œcumenical Councils. His isolated position caused him to be outside of Eastern struggles, in which, probably, the difference of language made him personally loath to join.

At Nicæa he pleaded old age for non-attendance, but it is evident that Constantine could not have summoned the meeting without his consent, whoever may have originated the idea. Hosius signed first, whether by right of age, or as the Emperor's trusted counsellor, or as representing the Pope. Anyhow, the Presbyters who represented Silvester signed as possessing, next to Hosius the precedence in the council, for Presbyters signed, if they signed at all, in the order which belonged to the Bishop whom they represented. It was only Bishops who had the right of voting.

The relation of the Bishop of Rome to the Œcumenical Councils and to the numerous Councils of the first five centuries, shows perhaps more convincingly than any positive statement could do, that the primacy of the Roman See was then only a primacy of honor. Constantly did large assemblies of Bishops meet, deliberate, and pass Canons according to their needs without reference to him. They sent their decrees to him as to other Bishops, for information, not for sanction.

His remoteness was indeed a source of growing strength to him. Probably he was glad to keep away from the Councils, feeling that his presence might have tended to diminish that respectful demeanor which his absence insured.

Speaking the language of the government, and dwelling amidst other immediate interests, with all the dignity of the ancient and imperial city, he was gradually becoming more and more conscious of his power as a referee; while the other Patriarchs spoke the Greek tongue, and were drawing their swords in hand to hand fight against upstart exponents of prolific Oriental speculation.

We find S. Basil, of Cæsarea, complaining of "the western pride" which held Pope Damasus back from showing such brotherly sympathy as was demanded by the Eastern Church, though he applied for it again and again when he was in the thick of the troubles of Arianism. A haughty self-assertion was too apt to be a growing element in such communications as were vouchsafed upon occasion from the Bishop of Rome to his brethren in the East; but his interference with their procedure, even if couched in a harmless exaggeration of self-importance, did not carry with it any obligatory power, and the Eastern Patriarchs were glad of the quiet reinforcement which they gained from the Apostolic See of the West, especially when clothed in such a magnificent document as the Tome of S. Leo, which, although nominally addressed to Flavian, the Fathers of Chalcedon examined first and then approved.

Constantine may have originated the idea of an Œcumenical Council, or Hosius may have suggested it. Anyhow, the Council, when once summoned, was the mouthpiece of heaven by which the Emperor, although not yet himself altogether a Christian, sought to obtain the complete and authoritative utterance of the Christian Church. That Church was now assuming tangible shape. He was welcoming the Church to power as an imperial governor rather than as a penitent. Occupying an external position like the Procurator of old, but having a very different interest at heart, he wanted to gain an answer to that question which Pilate was content to leave unanswered—What is Truth?

Yet was the meeting more than he was prepared for.

Can we realize the intensity of his feelings when, leaving his heathen soldiery outside, he entered alone into the hall of meeting?

Attired in gorgeousness of jewelled wealth, in all the buoyancy of youth, the pride of power, the self-sufficient exuberance of autocratic sovereignty, in the first freshness of its acquisition, he finds himself face to face with a presence before which all dazzling brilliancy grows pale. Never has human being met such a concentrated manifestation of Divine endurance. He

looks around. What are the thoughts which fill his heart? He bows before the victory of Heaven. This great assembly, gathered from all lands, tells of a triumph which has made death itself succumb. The martyrs did not die. They live in these their offspring. The eyes of this young monarch gaze into the depths of spirit life, and from an atmosphere red with the living blood that God has blest, memory calls up the consciousness of countless hosts that people the hall of audience. The forms before him are mantled with the radiance of this ancestral glory. Maimed, crippled, scarred survivors of the long conflict with the world, they testify to the immortality of faith. The King of martyrs from His heavenly throne invests with His own imperishable lustre these scarred witnesses. Do not their wounds breathe, as from lips of fire, the supernatural virtue surpassing all words, perpetuating the adorable Passion of the Incarnate God?

Constantine learns the littleness of all that men may strive for. All glory of material conquest vanishes into thin air before the substantive reality of the kingdom of grace. He has measured strength of army with army, and has conquered; but boast of momentary exultation can never equal the thrilling ecstasy of wonder at his own nothingness which comes from feel-

ing that now heaven has conquered himself. The submission of gratitude is ennobling. The prostration of true reverence deifies the soul that it annihilates. An awful sense takes possession of him. The light of mystery, the majesty of faith, the consciousness of a strange realm of truth ;—this new experience lifts him high to commune with eternal life and bless the heritage of immortality.

Obedient to his call, but robed as with the omnipotence of heaven, these forms of sanctity rise up to greet him. His subjects and his masters! It was no idle boast with which the Church laughed to scorn the tyranny of his predecessors, brutal and diabolical, but incapable of arresting the progress of that which was Divine. He pauses ; he thinks of that which has passed away. A stormy night has come to end. The silence of this moment of transition hushes him. Great hearts delight in that which is greater than themselves. Better than victory is such a vision of the invincible.

Memory bows to the past. What of the future? Can hope portray the destiny which seems to be taking outward form in obedience to his summons? He looks forward. No political presentiment can delineate the future of this assembly. No spiritual aspiration can anticipate its consequences. As one who, stand-

ing on a mountain summit, sees the dark veil of night lifted up from the vast plain below, he looks forward to all future time, and contemplates the boundless expanse before him, and the splendor of a day without end.

He sees the saints bearing the wounds of earth. He is caught up in rapturous sympathy of their royal welcome from the King of Kings. Jesus, the Crucified, is here in His suffering people. As Constantine enters the hall, it is as though he entered into the cloud of the Transfiguration. He stands spell-bound. With the consciousness of being ushered into another world, he waits until the venerable Council motion to him that he should take his seat. The Kingdom of the Truth is here. He feels himself to be indeed in the very presence of God.

As the discussions of the Council proceeded, Constantine took an active and intelligent part in them. Nevertheless, he and his successors, if they came to the Councils, were there not to preside but to learn.

The Œcumenical Councils were the crowning exhibition of that consultative habit which had been all along the distinguishing mark of the Christian religion.

The Diocesan Synod in which the Bishop in-

formed himself as to the mind of his clergy before issuing his commands, the Provincial Council of many neighboring Bishops, the General Council of one or more Patriarchates—all these initiated a law for the determination of doubts.

Already Constantine had had experience of such a gathering when the African Donatists had appealed from the decision of a Council of nineteen Bishops held under Miltiades, Bishop of Rome, in conjunction with Merocles, Bishop of Milan, both of whom were appointed by Constantine to investigate the complaint against Cæcilian of Carthage.

From this Roman decision Donatus was still allowed to appeal, and the result was the Council of Arles, in A.D. 314. This Council led on almost naturally to the eventual convocation of the Church Universal. Probably but for this the Fathers might never have been summoned to Nicæa.

The Council of Arles! This Council has a special interest for us. Three British Bishops took part in it, to hear an appeal from the Roman decision. Apparently they were the three Archbishops presiding over the different portions of the island, with many Bishops under them.

The Council of Arles is often regarded as a

Council of the Western Patriarchate. The presence of these British Bishops shows that it was something more. It was summoned, not by the Pope as Patriarch, but by the Emperor himself, to review the action of the Pope; and the British Bishops were summoned, not as belonging to the Roman Patriarchate, but as an autonomous portion of the Body of Christ. Had they been summoned otherwise, their successors never could have assumed their well-known attitude in repudiation of Augustine's claim. Their disregard of the superiority asserted for the Roman Pontiff did not result from ignorance because their island home was so remote, but it expressed an historical consciousness that an Italian decision had been reviewed by their ancestors in the faith. Eborius, of York, Restitutus, of London, and Adelphius, probably from Caerleon on Usk, are witnesses to the antiquity of our national Christianity.

Just consider too: How did Constantine come to summon them to this Council? Doubtless because his residence at York, where Eborius would naturally be his personal friend, had familiarized him with that ancient British Church.

The Pope's legates were present at the Council, but did not preside as his representatives, which would naturally have been expected. Why not? Hefele himself notices that the

order of signatures indicates the order of precedence, but this Council of Arles gives an exception to the rule, for the Pope's legates signed only after several Bishops, while in all other Councils, and even in the Eastern, the legates signed first (Introd., § 11). The reason is evident. The Council of Arles was hearing an appeal from the judgment of the Pope.

We find our British Bishops again at the Council of Ariminum. They were poor in worldly goods, and therefore obliged to accept the support of the Emperor, which the wealthier Bishops of Gaul were able to decline; but they were rich in faith, and therefore, although the majority of the four hundred at Ariminum led to a miserable result, these British Bishops seem to have joined in the letters sent from France at the time of the reactionary Council of Ancyra. S. Hilary, who was there in banishment, includes among his "best beloved and most blessed brethren and fellow Bishops" to whom he addresses his reply, the Bishops of the Britannic Provinces.

As soon, then, as the Church came to have a visible existence as a recognized power, a spiritual empire, it was her conciliar action which was the true expression of her will. No individual Patriarch, however dignified,

could impersonate the Church. The only Head of the Church Universal is Christ Himself, and His Authority is delegated, not to any individual, but to the Apostolic body in its collective action. "As My Father has commissioned Me, so send I you ;" not one of you, not each of you, but all of you in the unity of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost, that other Comforter Whom He promised to send when He went away unto the Father, is His True Vicar, His Personal Representative, coequal, consubstantial with Himself, making the grace of His Body to abound toward all who abide in His living fellowship.

That Spirit is the Life of His glorified Body, and the instrument of all His personal communication with His members upon earth. That Spirit's Presence is the Personal Divine agency by which those who are partakers of His grace are sustained in His own truth, and sanctified. There is one Body, one Spirit. The Church is the sphere of a continuous Divine inspiration, pledged to her by Christ, the Head, while she acts in union with Him.

The Presence of the Holy Ghost, Divine and infallible, is therefore the very life of the Christian Church. We listen for Him to speak in all her Councils. Hence the formula already

mentioned: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us."

The Holy Ghost guides the Church, but He does not compel. In the Councils we must acknowledge His presence, however unworthy of Him may be the scenes of tumult and Satanic warfare. Inspiration does not overpower free will, nor supersede the necessity of faithfulness in the inspired agent. He who spake by the Prophets when they uttered truths, not knowing what they said, speaks in the Church as a Personal Illuminator, guiding into all truth those who will give heed to Him.

A Council which acts in watchful subordination to the Divine guidance may be sure of being led in the way that is right. Its errors arising from human infirmity will be overruled for good. A Council speaking presumptuously cannot feel assured that the Holy Ghost will preclude all possibility of error. God is present. God can make Himself manifest and will do so, sooner or later. If there be error in any particular Council, God will make His Truth to be victorious in the end.

But a Council must be free from the chicanery of worldly politics and the oppression of external influence.

The Spirit of God is present, and yet those

may err in whom the Spirit dwells. They do not forfeit their authority by lacking infallibility. The Council needs the subsequent acceptance of the whole Church in order to possess an Œcumenical claim. Enough for us to know that a Council, if free, is the authoritative voice of God's Church. To reject such authority would be rebellion against God.

But then let us also bear in mind that Councils are not summoned in order to extend the Divine revelation. Their decisions do not add to the material of the faith. They perfect its expression. Opinions, reasonings, exegetical inferences of a Council do not claim necessary acceptance. We receive their decisions only as witness to the faith received by them from earliest years. Christ never promised to His Church an infallible Presence to settle whatever controversies might arise, but to bring to the remembrance of the Church whatever things He Himself had taught. The Church must follow, not force, the Spirit's guidance. The Spirit will facilitate, not force, the Church's utterance. He will not solve every riddle that our curiosity may suggest. When the Church goes beyond His guidance, it is at her own peril. Many disputes have rent Christendom asunder which lie altogether outside of the

ancient body of truth. The Truth of God revealed to the Church at the beginning would be absolutely unaltered, whether such curious questions be settled one way or another.

The Spirit of God is not pledged to determine points of philosophy. It must always be wrong to elevate a human opinion to the rank of Divine dogma. We must not let matter that is unrevealed blot the page of revealed Truth. God, who gave the revelation, knows what are the limits of our understanding. Our pride is very apt to busy itself about inquiries with reference to which we perhaps could not understand the answer, even if it were authoritatively given. We must not let practices consequent upon human opinion mingle with that worship which the original revelation requires. Too often do men fight about things of which the Apostles never dreamed. Indeed, when we walk in the sunlight of our own reason, it often blinds us to those vast constellations of revealed Truth beyond all earthly scrutiny, from which the eye of faith ought to gain its mysterious illumination. The sunlight of reason is for earth's lower sphere, and blinds us to the glory of the Lord from Heaven.

Now, the great Councils never met for the purpose of adding new dogmas or determining

unsettled questions. No Council, however imposing, can stand in the same list with them, if it pretends to settle a point in Christian theology beyond the limits of the ancient faith. The Bishops of the Church meet together to proclaim what they have received from the beginning. The Nicene Fathers did not put forth any new doctrine when they said that the word Consubstantial (*ὁμοούσιος*) was the true word to express the doctrine of Christ's Divinity. By this word they made sure the ancient Creed. Practically, their consistent argument was this: You cannot be Christians, if you do not worship Christ. Does your phraseology warrant that worship?

Councils did indeed meet for practical as well as for dogmatic purposes. They had to determine what is expedient under the varying necessities of successive periods. In such decisions the formula which they used was always, *Placuit*, "So it seems good to us." In the enunciations of the faith, on the contrary, there is no exercise of moral judgment. The Bishops had then only to testify to an inherited fact. The formula therefore was, *Credimus*. "This we believe. αὐτὴ ἡ πίστις τῶν πατέρων. This is the faith which we have received from our fathers and must hand on to our children." They do not say "This is true, and we require it to be

believed for the future," but they say "This is true and has been believed from the first."

A Council of the Church can know no such thing as opportuneness or inopportuneness in declaring Eternal Truth. Any such suggestion of controversial policy betrays a heart that is trembling because it is untrue to its trust. There never can be a moment when the Church is not bound to utter, as clearly as she can, the unchanging Truth of God. The more inopportune it may seem to be, the more necessary is its enforcement, for it is plain that men are seeking to reject it. It is sure of victory, for God gives it the guarantee of His living power.

It was indeed a loving Providence which plunged the Church in fierce intellectual conflict with subtle heretics ere she had got fully clear from the battle-fields of idolatry.

Constantine was a grand sovereign, a grand man. What his Christianity was we cannot say. Only he listened to the Church and was upon the side of truth, during his first, best thoughts.

He imagined that a firm faith could be enforced by a decree. He did not know that it was the gift of God and must be tested, developed, sanctified, by resistance to the powers of the world. His day of bright, brief hopes closed in the twilight of indifference, while dark

clouds gathered over the heavens, relieved by the fitful flashes of imperial self-will. He had sought at the outset to claim the victory of the Cross without knowing what such an alliance with Heaven demanded from him.

Stupendous consequences follow simplest acts. It was the simple honesty of a large-hearted Ruler which inaugurated the Œcumenical Councils. Of the real Christian aspect of the Nicene Council, as enshrining Divine promises, Constantine knew nothing. His consciousness that the Holy Ghost must inspire such an assembly was to him a matter of feeling, as to us of faith.

Like many of us, he thought his work was completed, before it was even begun.—Now there will be peace!—He little knew how peace must be obtained.

Most happily, peace did not follow. Had courtly favor landed the Church in peace and prosperity, the Imperial authority would have become the stay of her teaching. That must not be. Divine Truth can only be valued while we fight for it. Constantine obtained from the Church the declaration of what her faith really was. His Son Constantius, by espousing the cause of the Arians, made the Church speak for herself, in enforcing that decree, instead of relying upon him. Had the Nicene faith been

the Emperor's faith in perpetuity, we might have doubted after all whether it were truly Divine. The bitter persecution of Catholics by the court party in the following reign, necessitated further Councils. The Church had to meet her foes, not by individual wisdom, but by corporate action. In Councils she spoke again and again, against varying error, to maintain unchanging truth.

Alas! the worst elements of human nature were brought into miserable prominence amid many half-hearted decisions, but the unchanging faith of corporate Christendom, in contrast with the shameful dodges of false teachers, was felt in its substantive power. The Truth triumphed Divinely over the machinations of clever men. The howl of the heretic died away, and the sweet song of Zion's faith is still sung throughout the world.

The name of Nicæa is a pledge of victory. This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. One Body! One Faith! It suffers no alteration, no addition.

The Church of the nineteenth century still delights to sign herself with the sign of the Cross in union with the noble confessors of Christ who made sure for her the great Creed of Nicæa. In so doing she bids her people pledge themselves at the Altar to bear the Cross

as they bore it, and look forward to "the life of the world to come" where now they reign.

The great Councils did not know their own importance. They preserved not merely the truth as an element of thought. They preserved the Church from the disintegrating power of individualism, just when the nations were coming out of darkness into the light of the Gospel. Carnal men drew back with earthly reasonings instead of rising heavenward in love. Illuminating love shone forth, while brothers testified of love Divine. Truth, as taught by the Church, is no mere statement of facts guaranteed by authority. It is a living power, a Divine revelation, a participation of the Mind of Christ, a communication of the Holy Ghost. It is not acquired by human research, nor vouchsafed by uncertified inspirations. The Church is the Kingdom of the living Truth. By community of synodical action she realizes the unity of organic life. Sects may rise and fall, but a fallen sect can never rise again. A sect that has been split in two, may regain a temporary cohesion, but it has felt that it never knew the unity of life. Cohesion, compromise, co-operation, are not unity. Unless union has unity of indissoluble life for its origin, it must have dissolution, death, decay, for its inevitable end. Men may

combine in thought, in heart, in work, but life alone can make them one.

The Councils of the Church are not the mere expression of such human combination. They appeal to vital unity. They manifest that unity in their results. In their utterance they speak not with the dead certainty of mathematical demonstration, but with the reverent joyousness of participating in a common truth. This is the light of their souls. This is the law of their worship. Sects may formulate terms of agreement for the future. Councils proclaim what has been received from the beginning.

Sad it is that party spirit and proud perverseness mar the Body of Christ with grievous antagonisms. Have the Councils then lost their power? No! The Church possesses a power of rallying which sects do not possess. Schisms, though deeply wounding the Body of Christ, do not prevent the healthy reunion of those communities which still retain the Apostolic life. Sundered portions of the body, if they have any life remaining at all, must feel that they are living by the inherent presence of the Holy Ghost, and that He, personally active in un-failing truth, is not only their own life, but that He is truly and equally the life of those portions of the body from which the bleeding sore of schism, longing to be healed, holds them

for a time apart. In the Councils of undivided Christendom they hear the voice of their common ancestry.

Alas! for many a century, Churches as well as individual men have sought their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's. The Church has been enfeebled because she could not come forward in her corporate action. This is her need. This can, and this alone can, even now, strengthen her frame, heal her putrefying wounds, inspire her to cope with the social troubles of the day, illuminate her intellect to triumph over the cavils of unbelief, stablish her heart for the evangelization of the world, and purify her aspirations in the fulness of Divine Love.

I BELIEVE ONE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

The object of our faith must be the object of our affections. They shall prosper that love thee!

We cannot love an entity which lacks corporate life. We cannot know what love really is, unless we are taken out of the individuality of selfish nature into the Body of the Incarnate God, for God is Life and God is Love. If we love one another with the life of God, how must our hearts grieve at the sad spectacle of

divided Christendom! Let common sorrow waken us to mutual love! We deplore the calamities which we witness, but reviving energies forbid us to despair. There is life! There is hope! The schisms of the Church belong to her external manifestation. The unity of the Church is indestructible.

Sad divisions! Sadder still that simulated unity which is only of earth, and dulls the consciousness of unity which is Divine.

No part of the Church can have real unity within its own limits. Unity postulates integrity. The unity of God brings co-operative life, Catholic as embracing all the world, Apostolic as organized by the quickening power of grace, a unity which is ever holding fast to Jesus Christ as the Head over all things by the power of the One Spirit Who animates all.

How the parts of Christendom are gasping in worldly difficulties and despair, or worldly hopes far sadder than despair, because we do not recognize the necessity of rising out of ourselves in the fulness of brotherly love! We have yet to wake to a consciousness of the Church universal.

It matters not though the Church on earth may dwindle away by the apostasy of multitudes. Unity does not depend on numbers. A small body is better than a colossal fragment.

Unity does not depend on uniformity. Similarity of features does not make men brothers, nor diversity of character destroy a kindred life. But unity does demand circulation of life. Unity does demand sympathy of feeling. Unity does demand identity of aim. Unity does demand the absence of self-sufficiency. Unity does demand organic integrity. There can be no maimed unity in the Body of Christ. There can be no unity which is not a principle of grace derived from Him the Head, and sustained by the Apostolic organism whereby His life flows down.

Let us not fear the political, the intellectual, the social forces of the day. The Church cannot be more at the mercy of men at the present time than she was when an Arian Emperor, himself unbaptized, was using every stratagem to falsify her Creed. The study of the Councils must give us encouragement. We must not look downward to earthly means of security. We must look upward in the full confidence of Divine support. It was in the strength of conciliar action that the Church developed throughout those centuries of suffering. So she conquered the intellect of Paganism which dictated the crafty arguments of heretics when babbling unbelief bubbled up in frothy forms of folly. She repudiated the

spurious Creeds which had their origin from man. In Council after Council the Church maintained the Truth. She refused to allow that she was beaten, even though by some stratagem her feet at times were made to slip. Her heart was firm. She knew herself to be an organic body, united with Christ in His glory. Her enemies were but a mob.

The evils of our own day must in like manner develop our own confidence. It is not our fault if evil meets us in strange forms. We are not responsible for the history of the past, with all its sad results. We are responsible for the history of the future, that God may glorify His Church with many a triumph. The victory is not for individuals but for collective action. If the Church had not been a living corporate reality, the efforts of Athanasius would have been in vain. Sects gain their spasmodic life from individuals, and when the individual effort ends, they change and die. Saints gain from the Church herself the life that is eternal, and by the transmission of life from generation to generation the Church lives on.

There is much to do ere Councils in any true sense can be a reality. To meet in the free atmosphere of a Council would be almost to find the very purpose of our meeting accomplished! Each branch of the Church has its difficulties

which can only be mastered by tremendous self-sacrifice. Yet must we do what we can, for all things are possible with God. Only let us labor according to truth.

The outward universe seemed to denounce with lightning and storm the imposing throng which heard the decree of its own extinction, while the aged Pontiff of the Vatican declared himself to be the sole and sufficient teacher of the Church. Surely God's Spirit watched over that Council in spite of themselves. God did not suffer them to be more than listeners. The Council was dispersed but not dissolved. That Council has never been able to meet again. It would seem, therefore, that its acts can never now become final and authoritative. Coercion may enforce the decree, but without the final ratification of the Council it can never become the constitutional law even of that branch of the Church which succumbed to it.

The substance of the Roman Episcopate has been sucked out as by a terrible tumor. The power of our own Episcopate is on the verge of collapsing by excessive tension.

We must take care that we do not let ourselves be entrapped into any steps which may similarly imperil our own true character as a branch of the Catholic Church.

In the struggles of the sixteenth century our forefathers appealed to a free and legitimate Council of universal Christendom. That appeal cannot die out.

We do not make this appeal merely in order to justify ourselves at the bar of Christendom. We appeal to a General Council because it is only such collective action which can sustain the health of the Body of Christ here upon earth. Without such united action the various parts of the Church must each of them lose its proper vigor, and Christendom will become a corpse. True, the Gates of Hell cannot prevail against the Church. Christ's Body cannot die out on earth until His voice rings with benediction through the Heavenly City as when of old, dying upon the Cross, He cried out, It is finished; but surely it is the power of the Holy Ghost speaking through all the branches of Christendom, as the faithful few shall then meet together in conference, which will enable the Church of the last days to close her pilgrimage, not in the silence of exhaustion, but echoing the cry of the Victor of Calvary, "Father, into Thy Hands I commend My Spirit."

The Church of Christ can only live by unity. As we have the unity of the Spirit, the life of the Holy Catholic Church, we must see that we cherish the bond of peace, not a mere acqui-

escent dumbness amid differences, such as can only be when the heart has lost all love and beats no more, but the thrilling rapture of undivided faith: this is the interior bond! Worship responsive from heart to heart as springing from a confident expectation common to all: this is the spiritual utterance! The sacramental unity of the Body of Christ: this is the organic form!

How God shall bring our desire to pass, we cannot tell. We are sure that He will bless the desire, if it stimulate us to labor for its achievement.

One thing let me urge before I close. Ere we can properly claim a proportionate place in a Council of Christendom we require a vast multiplication of our own Episcopate. This may need to be done gradually, and take much time in its organization.

The mediæval Bishops, looking to an earthly head, might measure their dignity in proportion as they could ape the grandeur of their central sovereign. But if we believe in the real presence of the Holy Ghost with every Bishop to speak by him to individual souls, then we must feel the great importance of bringing this presence individually and habitually near to all our people. The early Church did indeed for-

bid the setting up of Bishops in insignificant places ; but we must remember him who when he went to his diocese found only seventeen Christians within it, and when he died left only seventeen that were heathen. Let us not wait until the number of Church people in a locality demand a diocese. Surely if the Bishop goes forth in the power of the Holy Ghost, the numbers will come. It is of no use to multiply committees. It is trifling with Providence to suppose that the Church can really be extended by lay readers. Christ sent out Apostles.

In England, with the dense population so abnormally accumulated within her scanty limits, we need a great multiplication of Dioceses, but if even England needs a fivefold Episcopate through density of population, we need in this State alone to have the Bishops multiplied by five in order to attain the geographical provision which was made for our Church in England in days of less congested multitudes, and even then more scantily made than would have been the case in earliest times.

Twenty-six Bishops, then, for an area of 58,000 square miles and a population at the time of the Armada of 5,000,000. At an early date there were seventy Bishops in the British Isles. The area is only little in excess of the area of New York and Massachusetts, with six Bishops

for a present population of more than 8,000,000. Even the addition of the Bishops in obedience to the See of Rome does not meet the deficiency.*

* The following comparative statement will show the difference of Episcopal provision in former times and now :

	Population.	Area, square miles.	Bishops.	Roman.
New York	5,997,853	49,170	5	7
Massachusetts	2,238,943	8,317	1	3
Total	8,236,796	57,487	6*	10

* One for nearly 1,400,000 people ; 9,600 square miles.

	Population at the time of the Ar- mada, about	Area, square miles.	Bishops.	
England	} 5,000,000 }	50,823	} 26*	
Wales		7,363		
Total		58,186		

* Rather more than one for 200,000 people ; 2,000 square miles.

	Present popula- tion.	Area, square miles.	Bishops.	
England	27,499,984	50,823	} 34*	
Wales	1,501,034	7,363		
Total	29,001,018	58,186		

* One for 900,000 people ; 1,300 square miles.

But compare even the old provision for England with that of Italy :

	Population.	Area, square miles.	Bishops.	
Italy	29,699,785	114,410	} 276 present at Vatican Council.*	

* One to 100,000 people ; 500 square miles.

Asia Minor is not so large as the block of States north of Virginia. The population in these States must be vastly greater than that of Asia Minor in her most flourishing days, and not very dissimilar in character. Asia Minor was fringed with a number of commercial cities of great wealth, activity, and culture. The interior portion of the territory was thinly peopled, whereas with us the whole country is covered with towns and villages. Compare, then, these States with Asia Minor in the early centuries of Christianity.

There used to be four hundred bishops in Asia Minor. In these States there are twenty-one. If we believe in the special gifts of Apostleship belonging to the Episcopal order surely we must seek to have an increase which shall make our present Apostolate more nearly equal to the provision of early times, and in the constant meeting together of Provincial Councils we may look for a renovation of church life and the getting in of those who are now left outside of the Church's organized discipline, because we do not provide the full measure of Apostolic help.

These days are days of sudden changes, rapid growths, wonderful results. While we see what the world is doing let us think what the Church can do. The Pentecostal fire burns,

though unseen, upon the head of all whom God has called to the Apostolic office. It burns not in vain. In time it will be seen. It will burn up the world with its Divine power. But hand to hand must all the Churches be gathered that the electric current may make its power to be felt. The normal action of the Holy Ghost is never through one alone, though individuals must each rise up to the measure of the Divine call. By Councils her corporate integrity was maintained of old. By Councils we must look for a renewal of her strength.

The Council of Nicæa.



LECTURE II.

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THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA.

WE are told that "there was war in heaven;" a war in which a creature sought to deprive his Creator of the throne of deity. How that war resulted we know. "Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven."* But although overcome in that terrible struggle, Satan did not acknowledge final defeat. His hate of the God of heaven lived on, and his desire to dethrone him was not changed. The host which had followed him in his rebellion was, it is said, but one-third of all the angels. Why should he not enlist on his side the souls of men, and join them to the ranks of the apostate spirits, so that in a second encounter he might perhaps be victorious where before he had suffered defeat? How

* Rev. xii. 7-8.

successful he was in seducing man we know from the opening book of the divine Scriptures, where we find the record of the temptation and fall of our first parents. The world which was God's by creation became in time Satan's by conquest. We have but to turn over the pages of history to realize how complete was that conquest. When, therefore, the Son of God entered into this world, he came into the organized kingdom of his enemy. He himself acknowledged that the prince of this world was the devil. Nevertheless, he would remind the world of his divine sovereignty which it had so long set at naught, and would, if possible, recall it to its allegiance. Accordingly, he declared himself before the world to be the Almighty God, and this claim he uncompromisingly insisted upon. During the three years of his ministry he tried to impress upon his disciples in every way possible the realization of his divine character. Then at length he sought to draw forth from them some expression of the thought of their hearts, and to hear from their lips the confession of his divinity. "He asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I the Son of Man am? And they said, Some say thou art John the Baptist; some Elias; and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets. He saith unto them, But whom say ye

that I am?" Quickly and fervently St. Peter answered: "Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God." At this profession of faith in his divinity, Jesus Christ turned to Saint Peter, and in a tone of unmistakable pleasure and exultation, said to him: "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." * But it was not only among his disciples that he claimed to be divine, but also openly before the men of the world. On one occasion, a multitude gather about him, and they demand that he shall declare who he is: "How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly." To this direct demand Jesus answered: "I told you and ye believed not; the works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me." "I and my Father are one." Again he stands before the judgment-seat of the Jewish hierarchy. "I adjure thee," says the high Priest, "by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God." To this solemn appeal Jesus answered, "Thou hast said: nevertheless I say

* S. Matt. xvi. 13-18.

unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven."

Such a claim to divine honours on the part of Jesus Christ could not go unchallenged in a kingdom whose prince had refused, ages ago, or perhaps before time was, to bow down before the God of heaven. As Lucifer had used angels as instruments of his pride, so now he gathered together the men whom he had made his servants, that through them he might resist, and, if possible, destroy the One to whose throne of deity he still aspired. On more than one occasion, we read of our Lord's being surrounded with an enraged multitude, who would fain have taken his life. "Many good works here I showed you from my Father; for which of these works do ye stone me?" asked Jesus of the Jews, as one day they stood ready to attack him. And what is their answer? "For a good work we stone thee not; but for blasphemy; and because that thou being a man, makest thyself God."* They take him before Pilate's judgment-seat, and the chief crime that they lay to his charge is, "He made himself the Son of God."† Upon this accusation they secured his condemnation and death. As

* S. John x. 32-33.

† S. John xix. 7.

Christ hung upon the Cross, it looked as if Lucifer had at length accomplished what he had so signally failed to achieve when he contended with Michael in warfare. But his triumph was but seeming and of short duration. On the Easter morn, he was again overwhelmed with defeat, for he whom he had nailed to the Cross of shame was declared to be the Son of God with power by his resurrection from the dead.

After his triumph over sin and death, Jesus Christ informed with his Spirit the handful of men whom he had inspired with faith in his divinity, and sent them forth to complete the work which he had inaugurated. That work was to wrest the souls of men from the dominion of the devil, and to bring them to acknowledge the Crucified as their king and God. To worship the incarnate Son of God, to defend his honor, and to bring men everywhere to obey and love him is the Church's *raison d'être*. "Upon this rock I will build my Church." He warned his followers, however, that in the carrying out of the mission which he set before them, they must be prepared for opposition, hatred, and even death. Accordingly, no sooner did the Church go forth to preach the Gospel, than straightway the sword of persecution was unsheathed. The whole power

of the Roman empire was brought to bear upon these strange enthusiasts, who were not content that they themselves should worship one Christ as God, but who, insisting upon the exclusive claims of their God, taught that the gods made with hands were no gods, and were unwearied in their efforts to bring all men to their way of thinking. Through the ten great persecutions the Church passed, but each fiery ordeal but deepened her faith in her incarnate God, and increased the number of her converts. At length she came forth from the furnace of suffering purified and strengthened, but only to enter into the subtle conflict with heresy, which was waged with special vehemency throughout the period of the Councils, and which is to continue to the end of time. Even while the Church had with her the presence of the inspired Apostles, there had already appeared those who brought in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them. Judaic, Docetic, Gnostic, and Manichæan sects—wild caricatures of the Church's faith, each one surpassing the other in grotesqueness—sprang up here and there. But however diverse these sects were, they had one common characteristic. They all agreed in denying either the distinct personality or the perfect divinity of our blessed Lord. These early heresies, how-

ever, in most cases arose from without, and were the result of the mixing together of one or two Christian ideas with a mass of Jewish traditionalism or pagan superstition. And even in those instances where they originated within the Church, their adherents soon separated themselves from her communion, and set up organizations of their own. They made but little attempt to identify their teaching with the Church's, and rather prided themselves in being altogether separated from the faithful, whom they regarded as the "carnal," and unable to rise up to the high spiritual views which they inculcated.

The spirit of error, however, was not content to utter blasphemies outside the Church. As he had dared to raise the standard of revolt even in the court of heaven, and to struggle that he might there have a recognized place, so in the fourth century of the Church's history, Arius essayed to do the same thing in the court of the Church on earth. The arch-heretic would seem to have been a person of considerable importance in the Church at Alexandria. He was in charge of the parish of Baucalis, and a lecturer on scriptural exegesis. Upon the death of Achillas he had been named as a likely candidate for the vacant see of Alexandria. Epiphanius does not give us a very

flattering picture of his personal appearance; his description, however, is no doubt somewhat overwrought. It is clear, from the wide influence which Arius exercised, that he was a man of very considerable ability and attainments, and that he possessed that gift of personal attractiveness which is the secret of many a man's success. Besides natural gifts, he had more or less of a reputation for outward respectability, and even for asceticism of life. That he was a man of intolerable pride and conceit is very evident from his *Thalia*. Still he must have had a good deal to commend him to popular favour, or he would never have gained the support he did. No one yet ever established a formidable heresy who was notoriously disreputable. Nestorius in public estimation was a saint, Eutyches was a great ascetic, and so on down the list. Here, then, we may learn a lesson, which is very apt to be forgotten in the present time. It does not follow that, because a man is learned, or is the possessor of great natural or spiritual gifts, his opinions are necessarily true and to be received. Men who are richly endowed by nature or by grace, are the very persons, unless the spirit of true humility is an active principle in their lives, whom the spirit of error seeks to puff up with conceit of their own knowledge, in order to lead them to

take up a position opposed to a right faith. And therefore, when the Holy Ghost would put us on our guard against false teachers, he warns us that, although seeking only to corrupt the Gospel, they will appear as angels of light, and may even seem to come from heaven; and although really wolves doing all in their power to destroy souls, yet they will hide their true character under the form of lambs. But however attractive they may appear outwardly, if when they open their mouths, 'they confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, we may know that they are not of God, but are of the spirit of antichrist.' *

We do not know with certainty the occasion when Arius first broached his heresy. According to Socrates, the Church historian, Alexander, the Bishop of Alexandria, "in the fearless exercise of his functions for the instruction and government of the Church, attempted one day in the presence of the presbytery and the rest of his clergy, to explain the unity of the Holy Trinity." Arius vigorously responded to what was said by the Bishop. "If," said he, "the Father begat the Son, he that was begotten had a beginning of existence; and from this it is evident, that there was a time when the Son

* 1 S. John iv. 2, 3.

was not. It, therefore, necessarily follows that he had his subsistence from nothing."* He further asserted, as we learn from one of the letters of Alexander, "that God was not always the Father, but that there was a period when he was not the Father; that the Word of God was not from eternity, but was made out of nothing; for that the ever-existing God (the I AM—the eternal One) made him, who did not previously exist, out of nothing. Wherefore, there was a time when he did not exist, inasmuch as the Son is a creature and a work. That he is neither like the Father, as it regards his essence, nor is by nature either the Father's true Word, or true Wisdom, but is indeed one of his works and creatures."† This declaration of Arius's was an absolute denial of the divinity of the Son of God. There, in a temple and before an altar erected for the worship of the incarnate God, was heard the cry of revolt against that God; a cry suggested by that undying spirit of pride which had of old dared to raise the shout *Non serviam* in heaven itself. If Jesus Christ was but a creature, then the whole of Christianity is stultified; the incarnation is emptied of all meaning; the blood shed

* Ecclesiastical History, bk. i., chap. v.

† Socrates: Ecclesiastical History, bk. i., chap. vi.

upon the cross is robbed of all virtue, the Sacraments are but shams; nay more, Jesus Christ himself is found to be a false witness unworthy even of respect; and we are left without God in the world, and of all men most miserable. And even though it be not said that Christ is a creature, but that he is a second divinity, having a distinct existence from the Father—an opinion which some of the Arians would seem to have held—yet such an opinion destroys at once the Christian idea of God. Under the Christian conception of the divine nature lies the thought of infinitude. God is infinite as to his existence and his power, and therefore he cannot be but One. But if there are two or more gods, no one of them can be infinite, and therefore no one of them is the God of Christianity, and so monotheism is at once overthrown, and polytheism again brought in. There have been, and there are, those who affect to sneer at the whole controversy between orthodoxy and Arianism, deeming it but an idle battle over words. But this sneer only betrays their lack of any appreciation of what Christianity really is. The more one grows in the knowledge of the faith of Jesus Christ, the more will one realize the awful crisis through which the Church passed in the fourth century, when Arianism claimed the right to live and move within her

pale. Mr. Froude, writing of Thomas Carlyle, says: "He made one remark which is worth recording. In earlier years he had spoken contemptuously of the Athanasian controversy—of the Christian world torn in pieces over a diphthong: and he would ring the changes in broad Annandale on the Homoousion and the Homoi-ousion. He now told me that he perceived Christianity itself to have been at stake. If the Arians had won it would have dwindled away to a legend." *

As to what was the Church's faith with regard to the divinity of Christ prior to the outbreak of Arianism, there can be no reasonable doubt. It was well known, even to the heathen, that she worshipped Christ as the Almighty God. It is this faith which underlies the early creeds, the liturgies, and the writings of the early Fathers. In these latter it is not always expressed in the accurate and sharply defined terminology which heresy afterward made necessary, and which the councils formulated; but, as Bishop Bull has shown in his *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*, belief in the divinity of the Son of God was as firmly held in the post-apostolic Church as it was afterward when the definition of Nicæa had been set forth. How then, it

* Life in London, p. 462.

may be asked, did it come that Arius set himself against the whole stream of Christian tradition?

Before the coming of Christ the intellectual powers of man were as keen as they have ever been since; and yet, notwithstanding all their efforts, they did not attain to the knowledge of the one true God, and to the treasures of science to which that knowledge is the key: "The world by wisdom knew not God."* When time had demonstrated the utter helplessness of the natural understanding to answer the many questions which pressed upon men, God came into the world, not only to be an example of godly life, not only to be a sacrifice for sin, but also to be the light of the human reason. He came to solve the problems of life, and to impart to men that knowledge which can alone satisfy the mind and heart. But if men would be enlightened by this truth, they must first acknowledge their blindness, and by an act of loving faith entrust their understanding to his keeping who had created it. To every soul seeking for light and wisdom amid the doubt and darkness of this world, Jesus Christ says: "If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth."† And that men may be led to

* I. Cor. i. 21.

† S. Mark ix. 23.

submit their reason to his sovereignty, he gives to them the preventing gift of grace to assure their conscience of the truth of his claims. So soon as the soul, in answer to the call of Jesus Christ and the drawings of his Spirit, places itself under the dominion of faith, it is that instant lifted up into a new sphere. Once brought into the Church, it finds itself in a certain intellectual atmosphere, and surrounded by certain positive influences, all of which are intended by God, not in any way to curb the legitimate exercise of thought, but to guide it aright toward the attainment of that perfect knowledge for which it was created, and for which it yearns. Now, in Arianism we see the intellect breaking away from the dominion of faith and refusing its guidance. The root-principle which underlay the heresy of Arius was that the human understanding is of itself sufficient to judge and determine spiritual truth. Whatever could not be weighed and measured by one's brains must be rejected. As in the natural order, the father is in point of time before the Son, therefore in the divine relationship the Father must also have been before the Son; and the Son could not be co-eternal with him, but there must have been a time when he was not, for the mind has no experience of any other order being implied by these terms. It

mattered not to Arius that the whole Christian consensus was against him, and taught that the Son was co-eternal and co-equal with the Father. It mattered not that Holy Scripture declared most explicitly the divinity of Christ. Arius could not understand how the Son could be in all respects equal to the Father, and therefore the Christian consensus must be wrong, and the statements of Holy Scripture must be either emptied of all meaning, or else by ingenious twists perverted from their evident sense. The principle which underlay Arianism is the one which underlies every other heresy which has vexed the Church. And it arises from the forgetfulness or the denial of a fundamental truth of divine revelation, viz., that the fall not only affected man's lower nature, but that the intellectual part was also involved. Not only is man unable in his own strength to do the good which he wills, but his mind having been wounded by sin, is subject to ignorance, and is unable by its own efforts to attain to that knowledge for which it is ever seeking. So that man needs, not only the grace of Jesus Christ to live purely in this present world, but he also needs the illuminating wisdom of faith to enlighten the darkness of his mind. But the mind in its proud self-sufficiency is loath to admit its helplessness. It

is ever saying, and never so confidently as in the present age, "I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing;" and it knoweth not that it is wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind. Hence its unwillingness to bow humbly to faith, and hence also the many revolts like Arius's against the restraints of faith.

Alexander, who was at this time Bishop of Alexandria, while free from all sympathy with the opinions of Arius, hesitated to take any steps to put a stop to their expression. Naturally a timid man, he shrank from facing the storm which the condemnation of Arius would certainly have raised. At first, therefore, he counselled moderation, allowed free discussion to both parties, and even presided at the debates upon subjects which had been brought into question.* "He deemed it more advisable, to leave each party to the free discussion of doubtful topics, so that by persuasion rather than by force, they might cease from controversy." This was a very plausible line of policy, had the look of fairness about it, and no doubt drew forth the applause of outsiders, and gained for Alexander, so long as he adhered to it, the reputation of being a broad-minded man who could rise up above the pet-

* Sozomen : Ecclesiastical History, bk. i., chap. xv.

ty controversies of the day. Meanwhile Arius was busy disseminating his opinions everywhere, which like all novelties had soon many advocates. In order that they might reach every class of men, he composed songs and hymns in which his blasphemies were set forth in verse. "The evil which began in the Church of Alexandria, ran throughout all Egypt, Libya, and the upper Thebes, and at length diffused itself over the rest of the provinces and cities." * So, while the timid policy of Alexander prevailed, the Church was being laid waste, and souls for whom Christ shed his blood were being destroyed. As there was found, however, in heaven a Michael courageous enough to withstand Lucifer, so there was not wanting in the Church an Athanasius to withstand Arius. There can be no doubt of Alexander's perfect orthodoxy ; he only lacked that fortitude of character necessary for him to initiate proceedings against Arius. The quality which the Bishop lacked, Athanasius, the Deacon, could supply him with in abundance. At his suggestion, Alexander addressed a letter to Arius, which the clergy also signed, asking him to refrain from his heretical teaching. A synod of the Bishops of Egypt and Libya

* Socrates, bk. i., chap. vi.

was next assembled in A.D. 321, at Alexandria, which condemned the opinion of Arius and excommunicated all those who held it. But, Arianism had been allowed to strike its roots too deeply and widely to be destroyed by the condemnation of a local council. Arius himself had indeed to take his departure from Alexandria, but he left behind him a powerful and turbulent party, strongly attached to his teaching. Epiphanius tells us that, so great was the arch-heretic's popularity, no less than seven hundred virgins in the city alone, declared themselves as his supporters; no mean army in an ecclesiastical war. From Syria, where Arius had gone, he was busy writing letters and sending emissaries to the oriental Bishops. Eusebius, of Cæsarea, the Church historian, took sides with him, more, however, because he thought him to be a persecuted man than from any positive sympathy with his opinions. Eusebius, of Nicomedia, espoused his cause with heart and soul, and to the end was a thorough-going Arian. In a comparatively short time Arius could boast that all the Bishops of the East were his friends, except Macairius of Jerusalem, and a few other ignorant persons.* The Bishop of

* Theodoret : Ecclesiastical History, bk. i., chap. iv.

Nicomedia having assembled a synod at which Arius was publicly received to communion, addressed a letter of commendation of him to the Bishops generally, and also sent one to Alexander urging him to receive Arius back again. Athanasius now formulated a letter for his Bishop, in which he set forth at some length the destructive character of the heresy which Arius had originated. This letter was fortified by the signatures of the presbyters of Alexandria and Mareotis, and sent to all the Bishops. All this correspondence but served to spread abroad knowledge of the controversy, and conflicting parties were formed everywhere. "In every city, Bishops were engaged in obstinate conflict with Bishops, and people rising against people, and almost like the fabled Symplegades coming into violent collision with each other." *

Constantine, at this time, had just completed his victory over Licinius, and was doing all in his power to unify the empire; the appearance therefore of this controversy in the Church, threatening, as it did, to interfere seriously with his political plans, could not but cause him irritation and anger. He addressed a letter to Alexander and Arius, and sent it

* Eusebius : *Life of Constantine*, bk. iii., chap. iv.

by Hosius of Cordova. The whole tone of this epistle is characterized by the worldly wisdom of a statesman with but little knowledge of Christianity, and still less appreciation of the vital principles involved in the controversy. The letter begins by gently rebuking, on the one hand Alexander for imprudence, and Arius for rashness, in attempting to discuss a question incapable of solution. It assures them both that after all their differences are only in words, and that in principle they really agree; that to continue such a controversy would be vulgar and unworthy of intelligent men, and could only result in further divisions. Finally, it exhorts them both to be content with believing together in divine Providence, and to allow to each other the free exercise of their individual opinions upon all other questions. There never yet has been a controversy in the Church when advice of this sort has not been given by someone. But it is a piece of advice which has never yet stilled any controversy, and never can. "What communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?"* Arianism denied the perfect divinity of the Son of God, how then

* II. Cor. vi. 14, 15.

could those who worshipped him as God take Constantine's advice, and join hands with men whose opinion, if it prevailed, must necessarily result in overthrowing that worship?

Constantine's letter had failed of its object; the controversy raged on with ever-increasing fury. Something more was needed than the dictum of an emperor in order to still the storm and to restore peace. The Church herself must utter her voice and declare authoritatively what was the faith which she had received. Then, too, there was the question as to the time of keeping Easter, which had been the subject of angry dispute and even of division, and which could only be finally settled by the Church's decision. Accordingly, a General Council of all the Bishops of the Church was called to meet in the city of Nicæa, in Bithynia. The Council convened in May, A.D. 325, and continued in session for about three months. 'The most distinguished of God's ministers from all the churches, which abounded in Europe, Libya, and Asia, were here assembled. And a single house of prayer contained at once Syrians and Cilicians, Phœnicians and Arabians; delegates from Palestine, and others from Egypt; Thebans and Libyans, with those who came from the region of Mesopotamia. A Persian Bishop, too,

was present at this Council, nor was even a Scythian found wanting to the number. Pontus, Galatia, and Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Asia, Phrygia, furnished their most distinguished prelates; while those who dwelt in the remotest districts of Thrace and Macedonia, of Achaia and Epirus were in attendance. Even from Spain itself, one whose fame was widely spread, Hosius of Cordova, took his seat as one of the great assembly. The prelate of the imperial city was prevented from attending by extreme old age, but his presbyters were present, and supplied his place.* Some of the Fathers of the Council were well known for their heroic faithfulness during the recent persecutions, and bore in their scarred and mutilated bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus. There, for example, was Paul, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, who had been deprived of the use of both hands by the application of hot irons; others had the right eye dug out, and still others had lost the right arm.† Then there were also present in the Council Bishops the greater part of whose lives had been spent in the deserts of Egypt, and who, in the work of spiritual mortification, could tell of strange

* Eusebius : *Life of Constantine*, bk. iii., chap. vii.

† Theodoret, bk. i., chap. vi.

battles fought with "principalities, and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world and spiritual wickedness in high places."

But all who were gathered at the Council of Nicæa were not saints. The primitive Church was very like the Church of every subsequent age. It had its sinners as well as its saints. And the Council of Nicæa was not unlike the ecclesiastical assemblages of the present day with which we are acquainted. There were there, indeed, Bishops whose one chief thought was the advancement of the glory of the Lord whom they loved; but there were also others who saw in the Council only an opportunity of advancing their own interests, and who thought far more of the list of grievances they had brought to present to the emperor, than of the great work which the Council had before it. There were there, indeed, Bishops who were ready to endure the spoiling of their goods and the loss of life, rather than abate one jot or tittle of the faith which they had received; but there were others who were just as ready for any compromise personal interest might dictate, or which popular opinion might demand.

Looking at the theological parties in the Council, there were, in the first place, those who, perfectly convinced of the essentially

anti-Christian character of Arianism, had come with the firm determination to listen to no half measures, but to insist upon its absolute condemnation. Alexander was naturally the representative of this party, and Athanasius, though still but a deacon, its inspiring and directing spirit. But the Bishops who adhered to the side of Alexander and Athanasius were in a minority. Orthodoxy, if it had nothing else to depend upon but the number of its determined champions, could certainly not feel assured of carrying the day. But the believers in the consubstantial divinity of the Son of God came to the Council, not trusting in their numbers, but in the strength of the Lord God of Hosts, who can save by many or by few, and who had promised that the gates of hell should not prevail against His Church. In the next place, there was the party of which Eusebius of Cæsarea was the mainstay. It was made up of those Bishops who, while not committed to the doctrinal position of Arius, were prepared to oppose any measures which looked toward his condemnation and exclusion from the Church. They were representatives of that class of minds, always to be found in the Church, who do not seem to be able to realize that the Church exists in the world not to build up an earthly kingdom, but a

kingdom of immortal souls, whom the knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus has set free from the dominion of sin and death ; and that her power to build up this spiritual kingdom will depend altogether upon her faithful presentation of the truth God has committed to her. They rather look upon present and material prosperity as the surest index that the Church is succeeding. To them the gain of numbers, wealth, and worldly influence, is godliness ; and, therefore, they are ever ready to keep in the background any disagreeable principle, or to make any compromise short of a formal denial of the faith, in order to attract the multitude and to increase the number of nominal believers. To such men, the agitation which Athanasius had stirred up by his active opposition to Arius, could not but seem to be destructive of the Church's best interests. While, therefore, the Bishop of Cæsarea and his party were themselves, in the main, perhaps orthodox, they were prepared to oppose any definition which would make the Church less comprehensive, and render it impossible for Arius and his followers to remain any longer within her borders. Next there was the Arian party proper, with Eusebius of Nicomedia as its head and chief speaker. The Bishops who composed it made no secret of

their agreement in principle with the opinions of Arius; and they had come to the Council with their minds quite made up to obtain, if possible, a distinctively Arian creed, or at least one capable of an Arian interpretation. They had on their side many of the brightest wits among the Bishops, men well trained to handle all the weapons of a dialectical contest. While but a minority in themselves, they looked to the Bishop of Cæsarea and his followers for support when the crisis came. Their hope of victory, however, chiefly depended upon their securing the votes of a majority of the two hundred and odd Bishops who were not yet definitely committed to either side. The Bishops who formed the bulk of the Council were most of them simple-minded men who sincerely desired to preserve inviolate the faith which they had received, and to transmit it in its integrity to the generations yet to come. But being men of little intellectual acuteness, and perhaps not fully alive to the gravity of the issue before them, there was a real danger that they might be imposed upon by the ambiguous statements of the Arians, and be induced to give their adhesion to a creed under which Arianism could afterward shield itself. That the Arian party had high hopes of using these simple men, and so of carrying the day,

is evident from subsequent events. It was not, however, to be the last time that heresy, puffed up by the thought of its popularity, should go to a Council expecting to commit the Church to its way of thinking, but only to meet with disappointment and humiliating defeat.

The first two weeks after the Council had assembled seem to have been spent in desultory discussions. Soon after Constantine arrived at Nicæa, the Council formally began the work for which it had been convened. That work was twofold: the Bishops had first to answer the question "What think ye of Christ?" and in the second place they had to express their answer in such accurate language as would leave no doubt as to what the faith was. Almighty God ordained His Church not only to administer His grace, but also to preserve and propagate His truth, and for the accomplishment of this work He promised her the guidance of the Holy Ghost. Trusting to this promise, the Church would declare what the truth was with regard to the person and nature of her Lord. Before the day set for the final decision of the Council, Arius appeared several times before the Bishops, and confidently affirmed his heresy without ambiguity or any attempt at disguise. His bold avowals were re-

ceived with every oriental expression of displeasure and repugnance. They stopped their ears, and cried out again and again, "We never heard such things." The reception accorded to Arius, although it would seem to have been unexpected by his sympathizers, did not by any means discomfit them. Arianism was well versed in the devices of deceit, and what it could not take by storm, it might yet be able to accomplish by craft. From the first it seems to have been understood that the result of the Council's action would be set forth in a symbol of faith. During the process of formulating such a symbol, the statements and phrases of Holy Scripture which teach the divinity of the Son were adduced by the followers of Athanasius. But to their surprise, the Arians were ready to acquiesce in the adoption of all of these terms. Did the Catholics want to say that the Son was begotten of the Father? the Arians were ready to subscribe; for, said they, is it not written that all things are from God? * Did the Catholics propose that it should be declared that the Son is in all things like the Father? the Arians are prepared to give their consent; for, said they, *submissa voce*, is it not written that man is the image and glory of

* Athanasius : *De Decretis*, chap. v.

God? * Will the Catholics have the Council declare that the Son is the power of God? the Arians will give their assent, for, say they among themselves, the caterpillar and locust are called the power of God. † Do the Catholics try to meet these evasions by declaring that the Son is eternal as to his existence? But even this proposition presents no difficulties to the quick-witted Arians; they will subscribe to it, for, say they, as they wink at one another, is it not written that "We who live are alway?" ‡ It looked as if Athanasius and his supporters were completely baffled, and that there was no form of words with which to set forth the perfect divinity of the Son, which these Arians could not take and either empty of all meaning, or else pervert to a false one. Reading over this period of the history of the Church, and observing the subterfuge and trickery resorted to by the Arians in order that they might remain in the Church, and minister at the altars of Him whom they blasphemed, one cannot but be impressed by the striking resemblance between their methods and those which are resorted to now, by men whose elastic conscience permits them to profess with their lips the

* Athanasius : *De Decretis*, chap. v.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, *Ad Afros*, 5.

Church's creed, and with the next breath to undertake to deprive it of all significance. Verily, the spirit and mantle of Arius has fallen upon not a few in these last days.

The Arians, encouraged by their success in evading every test proposed by the orthodox Bishops, now determined upon a bold move. Upon the day set for the final decision, Eusebius, of Nicomedia, suddenly laid before the Council for its acceptance a proposed Creed of his own devising. It was a desperate attempt to commit the Council to heresy. But the Arians had overestimated their strength, and this move only brought upon them swift disaster. "The Creed proposed by the Bishop of Nicomedia," says Eustachius, quoted by Theodoret, "contained undisguised evidence of his blasphemy. The reading of it before all occasioned great grief to the audience, on account of its departure from the faith." "As soon as it was read it was torn to pieces, and was declared to be spurious and false."* This public displeasure of the majority of the Bishops cowed the Arians, and taught them that the Council could not be as easily managed as they had thought; and it made them also realize that their ultimate success was far from being

* Ecclesiastical History, bk. I., chap. vi.

assured. They at once agreed among themselves that their wisest course now was to say nothing, and accordingly, "under the pretence of preserving peace, they imposed silence upon their ablest speakers." * The politic Bishop of Cæsarea now comes to the front to make one last effort to prevent the Council from excluding the Arians from the Church. He proposed a creed which, with some slight modifications, had been in use in his own diocese. Its phraseology was scriptural, and no exception could be taken to its positive statements, even by Athanasius himself. The Arians, moreover, expressed their perfect willingness to subscribe to it. Surely in this creed the Council had a basis of union and harmony. Why should it not be adopted? But there was just one notable defect in this proposed formula. If it was accepted the Council would leave undetermined the one special question which it had been assembled to determine, viz., Is Christ divine in the same sense that the Father is divine? There was nothing in this creed which, in view of the ingenuity of the Arians, could be quoted as a decisive answer to this question. Now, there was one phrase which had been thrown out in the earlier discussions of the Council,

* Ecclesiastical History, bk. I., chap. vii.

and to which the Arians had taken special exceptions, because they did not seem to be able to find any gloss with which to explain it away; it was the phrase *ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ*. This was a term which expressed exactly the doctrine of Christ's perfect divinity for which Athanasius and those who were with him had been so long contending, and therefore they had set their hearts upon its finding a place in the Council's definition. Constantine, prompted by Hosius of Cordova or Athanasius, suggested that the phrase should be inserted in the creed proposed by the Bishop of Cæsarea. The suggestion was adopted by the Bishops, and the phrase, together with some others, was accordingly incorporated; so that the creed as thus revised differed very considerably from what had been at first proposed by Eusebius. Then, in order to leave no possible doubt with regard to the Council's absolute rejection of Arianism, there was added a formal anathema of the distinguishing tenets of Arius: "The Holy Catholic, and Apostolic Church anathematizes those who say that there was a time when the Son of God was not, and that before he was begotten he was not, and that he was born out of the things that exist not, or who assert that he is of another nature or substance [from the Father], or that he is mutable or sub-

ject to change." The definition thus formulated lay before the Bishops; to give it authority and make it effective, it must be signed. We are told that the Council paused. And well it might, for no one could foresee what disastrous results, from a human point of view, might be the outcome of the adoption of this drastic definition. Considerations which the worldly wise had no doubt urged were not forgotten. What if the followers of Arius should not yield? What if the Church should be rent in pieces by the Council's action, and that at a time when she ought to present an united front to the men of the world who were asking for admission to her courts? Why make it more difficult for them to adopt Christianity, by insisting upon a proposition which they would certainly consider unreasonable and even puerile? Why narrow the Church bounds, and drive out men who were prepared to subscribe to a creed like that first proposed by the Bishop of Cæsarea; who were prepared to meet Athanasius more than half-way; who were ready to confess—provided they were not too closely questioned as to what they meant by their words—that Christ was "the Word of God; God of God; Light of Light; Life of Life; the only-begotten Son, the first-born of every creature; begotten of God the

Father before all worlds," * but who could not say that he is "of one substance with the Father?" Was it fair to drive out of the Church with anathemas men who were willing to subscribe to so much, just because they could not subscribe to this one clause? Considerations like these are always sure to be brought forward in order to deter the Church from bearing witness to the truth which she has received to keep. But such considerations had no weight with the greater number of those who were gathered at Nicæa. The Arians must profess the homoousion, or be cast out of the Church of God. No quarter was to be given to the enemies of Christ's perfect divinity. "The Council closed its ranks and marched triumphantly to its conclusion. All signed, all but two, Secundas and Theonas." The question, "What think ye of Christ," was answered, and answered forever.

The Council of Nicæa was a battle-field in which the Church had to grapple with the spirit of antichrist. Lucifer came to the Council encouraged by the thought that the world was with him. He said in his heart, "I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God ; I will sit also upon the mount

* Creed of Cæsarea.

of the congregation, in the sides of the north; I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High."* He looked around him, and on his side were arrayed the world's numbers and its wisdom. And who were they who had come determined to withstand him? Only the little band of believers gathered around Athanasius. But the allies of that despised handful of men were the armies of Heaven, and He who went before them to battle was called the Word of God, whose eyes are as a flame of fire, and out of whose mouth goeth a sharp sword. "The dragon fought, and his angels, and prevailed not;" Christ conquered, and Satan was again cast down. Never since that war which was waged in Heaven was such a battle fought or such a victory won. And from that day until this the Church's confession of faith and her triumphant battle-song has been the Creed that was set forth at Nicæa.

To go over in detail the after-history of Arianism would carry us quite beyond the limits laid down by the subject of this lecture. It may suffice to say that the decree of Nicæa did not put an end to the heresy. Its supporters, although excommunicated, did not

* Isaiah xxiv. 13, 14.

give up hope of eventually obtaining for their opinion a tolerated place in the Church. In time they gained the ear of Constantine ; the Arian bishops were recalled from their exile, and some of them reinstated in their sees. It was next represented to the Emperor that Arius had been misunderstood as to his teaching ; that he was really in accord with the definition of Nicæa, and did not hold the opinions attributed to him ; that, in a word, he was a much-abused man, a victim of Athanasius' ill-tempered zeal. The arch-heretic was at length brought back from exile, and his return was hailed with every demonstration of popular approval. The world ever knows and loves its own. ' It is ever wondering after the beast ; ever saying, Who is like unto the beast ? who is able to make war with him ? ' * Filled with exultation at the turn of affairs in his favour, and animated with the old spirit of deceit, Arius now sought to be restored to the Church's communion as publicly as he had been separated from it. He appeared before Constantine and took a solemn oath that he did not hold the opinions for which he had been condemned, and that he professed the faith of the Church of Christ. " If thy faith be

* Rev. xiii. 3, 4.

right," said the emperor, "thou hast done well to swear, but if thy faith be impious, and thou hast sworn, God judge thee according to thy oath." The morrow was set for his public reception to communion. What sorrow and consternation must have filled the hearts of the faithful in Constantinople! They wept and lamented, but the world rejoiced. How often has it been so since! But they were not without hope. They besieged heaven with their supplications that God would deliver his Church from the power of his enemy. The aged Bishop prostrate before the altar of the Consubstantial Son of God prayed with tears that "If Arius be brought to communion to-morrow, let me thy servant depart, and destroy not the godly with the wicked; but if thou wilt spare thy Church, and I know that thou canst spare, look upon the words of Eusebius and his company, and give not thine inheritance unto destruction and reproach, but take Arius away, lest if he enter into thy Church, his heresy may also seem to enter with him, and henceforth ungodliness be accounted for godliness." That very night as Arius was proceeding in triumph through the city, the hand of God smote him, and he died.*

* Athanasius, *Ad Serapion, De Morte Arii.*

Undeterred by the fearful end of their leader, the Arians still persevered in their opposition to the faith of Nicæa. They had on their side wealth and worldly power, and therefore God's judgments were far above out of their sight. From this time on the political influence of Arianism increased. Although not making any ostensible efforts to undo the work of the Council, it nevertheless was busy undermining the influence of its most conspicuous supporters. Under Constantius, Arianism became the power behind the throne; it had now no need to veil its real aims. Council after council was assembled in the vain effort to overshadow Nicæa, and to destroy its prestige. Persecution was resorted to in order to force the Catholics to accept the innumerable creeds which were being issued. And Athanasius once and again became an exile, hiding in the holes and caves of the earth. Where persecution failed, persuasion and deceit often succeeded; and there was more than one conspicuous example of apostasy. Arianism was triumphing everywhere. But divisions appeared in its own ranks. Semiarians, Homœans, Anomœans,* and other sects sprang up, each opposed to the other, and

* The watchword of the Semiarians was Homoiousion, "like substance;" of the Homœans, Homoion, "like;" of the Anomœans, Anomoion, "altogether unlike."

only agreeing in repudiating the definition of the Homoousion. In these divisions, Arianism saw the beginning of its own destruction, and therefore a supreme effort was made to unite upon a common basis all those who rejected the Creed of Nicæa. A Council was called to meet at Rimini, A.D. 359; part of it, however, assembled at Seleucia. By the threats of Constantius the signatures of the bishops were secured to a creed which, although Arian in its general tenor, was sufficiently vague to admit of almost any interpretation. Arianism could now boast of a definition in its favour, given by a Council far exceeding in point of numbers the one which had assembled at Nicæa, A.D. 325. But its triumph was but short-lived, and the unity which it had secured but a shadow. Scarcely had the creed of Rimini been set forth than Julian the Apostate, the protégé of Arians, came upon the stage of history. He restored paganism once more to its old place, thinking, no doubt, that the worship of the gods of old Rome was at least more reasonable than the religion of his Arian tutors, who though outwardly giving worship to Christ, declared at the same time that He was but a creature. During the reigns of Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens the history of Arianism is but the history of petty sects, each surpassing the

other in blasphemy. But amid all the confusion of this period the faith of Nicæa lived on, giving hope to sinners, forming saints, and sustaining martyrs. And when, under Theodosius, the Church for the second time assembled in Council, and opened her mouth to give expression to the faith of her heart and mind, her words are still the same: "I believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God; Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God; Begotten not made; Being of one substance with the Father; By whom all things were made."

As we read over the Nicene Creed with the additions made at Constantinople, the question may occur to some one: Is this all the faith which God has revealed to His Church? If by the question you mean to ask whether all the faith is *implicitly* contained in the Creed, the answer is yes. For the Catholic religion is such a perfectly logical system that by a kind of circuminsession of doctrine each proposition of the faith is implied in every other proposition, and may be deduced therefrom. So that, as S. Thomas observes, all the articles of the faith are but the logical development of the first, *Credo in unum Deum*. In this sense it may be said that the whole faith is contained in the

Nicene Creed. But if by the question you mean to ask, whether the Creed is a *full* and *explicit* exposition of the faith, so that nothing is *de fide* but what is there in so many words set forth, the answer is no, most distinctly no. The Council of Nicæa did *not* assemble for the purpose of setting forth a complete exposition of God's revelation. If it had done so there would have been no necessity for any General Council afterward. It came together to meet the heresy of Arius, and to define the divinity of the Son of God. The authority of Holy Scripture, the necessity of grace, the sacraments, the sacred ministry, and many other matters are certainly integral parts of God's revelation, which we must accept, although they are not set forth in any creed. The statement, however, is made, sometimes thoughtlessly, and sometimes with a purpose, that because these things have not been formally defined by any General Council, they are therefore not of faith, and everyone is free to reject or to accept them. The major premise of this conclusion is that nothing is *de fide* but what has been so defined. Now such a proposition will not bear a moment's examination. Will anyone assert that the Church had no definite faith during the three hundred and odd years before her first General Council, and that the

divinity of Christ was until then a matter of mere opinion? To ask such a question is to answer it. Of course the Church had her faith, by which sinners were saved and saints perfected, long before a General Council was so much as thought of. And when the first General Council put forth its definition it did not profess to be setting forth anything new or unheard of, but only enforcing what was then *de fide* and had always been *de fide*. We must not think of a council as a magisterium set over the Church to gradually unfold to her, as time goes on, what the faith is. This seems to be a common conception of the office of a General Council, but it is a wholly false one. Jesus Christ delivered to His Church the faith once for all, and to that deposit no addition can ever be made. He then gave to her the gift of the abiding presence of the Holy Ghost to bring to her remembrance all things that He had taught her. The Church, therefore, knows what the faith is by an inwrought consciousness. She needs no Council to tell her what it is, for she herself is taught of God. But when heresy attacks the faith, and there is grave danger that she should be misrepresented, then she utters her voice to declare the faith which is within her, and the organ of her speech is a General Council. If there had been no here-

sies there would have been no need for Councils; for all her children being partakers of the life of the corporate body, are also partakers of the light of faith. So long as they willingly yield themselves to the guidance of this supernatural illumination they have no difficulty of obtaining from the pages of Holy Scripture, from the monuments of tradition, and from the consensus of the whole Church, the knowledge of that truth which abides in the Church as a principle of life. And therefore S. John, writing to his converts, says: "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things." "The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him."*

But although the Nicene Creed is not an explicit statement of the whole Christian faith, inasmuch as many things which are *de fide* are not there expressly set forth, yet everything that is of faith is there at least implicitly contained. Indeed, we may go further and say, that our whole religion rests upon the single clause, "homooousion with the Father." For

* 1 S. John ii. 20, 27.

upon the divinity of our Lord are based all our hopes with regard to the effacement of past sin, for grace in this life present, and for the joy of heaven hereafter. To maintain and propagate faith in the divinity of the incarnate Son of God is, as has been said, the Church's *raison d'être*. It is well that we should be reminded of this when there is such a disposition to multiply beneficiary agencies of all kinds for the care of men's temporal interests, and when there is a real danger of the importance of the Church's purely spiritual ministrations being overshadowed. The works of beneficence are all very well in their place, but if the Church spends most or all of her time and efforts in providing men with social entertainment, and in feeding and clothing their bodies, and is not bringing them to acknowledge Jesus Christ as their king and God, and to give Him the worship which is His due, she is failing utterly to fulfil the mission for which she was ordained. We must remember that the eternal reward is not promised to us for mere acts of beneficence, but it is promised to us for doing these deeds of charity to Christ: "The king shall say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: For *I* was hungered, and ye gave *me* meat: *I* was thirsty,

and ye gave *me* drink: *I* was a stranger, and ye took *me* in: Naked, and ye clothed *me*: *I* was sick, and ye visited *me*: *I* was in prison, and ye came unto *me*." And our Lord has taught us that it is when we minister, not to anyone, but to His brethren that we minister unto Him. Now who are Christ's brethren? All men, the popular religion of the day answers. And, accordingly, it is never weary of telling men indiscriminately, even those who refuse to give Christ divine worship, that they have God for their father. By which teaching it means to imply, not only that God is the Creator of all men—for in this sense He may be said to be the father even of the irrational and inanimate creation—but that there is a spiritual relationship existing between God and all humanity, by the very fact that it is humanity, such a relationship as heretofore was thought to exist only between God and the faithful believer. But such an idea is certainly not derived from divine revelation. Holy Scripture teaches us distinctly that men are by nature born in sin and are the children of wrath, and that this sinfulness is increased, and God's wrath intensified by their own actual offences. In such a condition, before faith and penitence have done their work, no adult can be a member of Christ, and so he cannot have God for his father. But

who does Christ Himself say are His brethren? "He stretched forth his hand towards *his disciples*, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren. For *whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven*, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." According to this definition Christ's brethren are not as numerous as much of the preaching of the day would have us believe. Moreover, when those who denied His divinity proudly claimed, just as their successors do now, to have God for their Father, He would not allow their claim for an instant, but with an unwonted and stinging severity, answered them: "If God were your Father ye would love me; for I proceeded forth and came from God." "Ye are of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do." And the Holy Ghost also says expressly, "Whosoever denieth the Son the same hath not the Father." The ancient Church understood well who were, and who were not, the children of God, and so would not suffer those under instruction to address God with the words, "Our Father," until they had professed faith in the divinity of Christ, and received the grace of baptism. We must not allow ourselves to be blinded to our real work as members of the Church of Christ. To bring men to the acknowledgment of the truth that they

may be saved from the wrath to come is our first duty, and any form of philanthropic activity which does not contribute to this end is worse than vain. The philanthropy which cares for men's bodies, but leaves their souls in the darkness of sin, is not of God. It is but practical Pelagianism, a form of error which logically is not far removed from Arianism. When we have brought men to acknowledge Jesus Christ as their God and to place themselves under His sovereignty, then, indeed, they become His brethren. Then every act of charity done to them is bestowed upon Christ, and therefore has a great recompense of reward.

Not only is there the temptation to substitute humanitarianism for the preaching of the truths of revelation, but there comes to the Church the temptation to compromise the faith for the sake of some present and temporal advantage. The devil at times takes the Church, as he did her Lord, to the lofty mountain of worldly ambition, and opens out to her the possibility of a rapid increase of her numbers, of wealth, and of earthly influence. All these things the tempter offers to her, if only she will abate this or that part of the faith. For the Church to accept such a condition, is for her to forget that the truth is hers to keep, but not to throw

away ; that it is hers to teach, but not to hide under a bushel. She may bear with the stammering faith of Christ's babes who are within her fold, but she dare not hold out the bait of negation to those who are without, and say to them, that if they will only come into her fold they need not believe in this or that disagreeable truth. To do this would be for her to fall into heresy, for heresy is but the negation of truth. And every heresy, it matters not what it is, if pushed to its logical and necessary conclusion, will end in the denial of the divinity of the Son of God. The history of the last three hundred years is a demonstration of the truth of this proposition. Where is German Lutheranism, and French Calvinism, and English Presbyterianism to-day ? They are drifting far out on the broad ocean of Unitarianism.

But however subtle the temptations through which the Church may have to pass in the present or in the future, we need not doubt that the Spirit of Truth which abides with her will enable her to answer all the suggestions of the tempter, as she answered them at Nicæa, and as she has answered them in every crisis which has overtaken her faith : "Get thee hence, Satan : for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." Her faithfulness will indeed in-

crease against her the hatred of the prince of this world, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience; and she has doubtlessly many a battle yet to fight in defence of the honour of her Divine Head. We must not look for a cessation of her warfare so long as she is in this apostate world. "The dragon is wroth with the woman, and maketh war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ." * Nor must we be affrighted by the noise of our adversary, or by the apparent greatness of his numbers and power. We may go forth to the conflict with perfect confidence, being assured that as Christ has been victorious in every struggle with His enemy in the past, He will certainly be victorious in every battle which is yet to be decided, and that we who have fought faithfully under His leadership, will also be partakers in the glory of the final triumph: "The kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." †

* Revelation xii. 17.

† Daniel vii. 27.



The First Council of Constantinople.

LECTURE III.

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THE FIRST COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINO- NOBLE.

It is one of the strange anomalies of history that the King of Love, our Lord and Saviour, should have been the cause for contention, and the object of bitterest conflict. And yet He announced, with pathos in the prophecy, "I came not to bring peace, but a sword;" foretelling to His disciples and His friends, that the world, as well as they, should "be offended" because of Himself. But upon second thought this is not so remarkable a paradox, since all that He represents, and all that He teaches, is the opponent of whatever is evil; and finds its foe in whatever is corrupt, untrue, and unrighteous. The interpenetration of sunlight within the slimy holes, and the rotting recesses of the cavern, the morass, and the jungle, arouses into confusion, and bestirs into venomous action, the

reptile life thus discovered. The Persian God of goodness is not only on the aggressive but also on the defensive side of an eternal warfare with the God of evil. The principles of liberty, morality, and progress, are met in our daily experience, by an enemy born of hatred, and denial, and by a leagued hostility, arrayed in the interests of degradation, unholiness, and retrogression. Christ stands with flashing sword uplifted, at the centre of all time, and all life—and He Himself is the object of the Devil's attack. His doctrines are the walls for the enemy of truth to besiege. His Church is the fortress against which the "gates of hell" send forth legionaries of malignant antagonists, and this shall continue through time, till victory is finally assured, and "God shall be all in all." The six accepted General Councils of the ancient Church seem to be great battle-grounds, with the Christ irradiant and glorious, as the Standard about which the conflict rages. They were primarily convened to defend the Lord of Heaven and earth, against the subtle and the masked approaches of the enemy; and these campaigns seem in a certain sense to be the counterparts and corollary of the terrible temptation of Christ in the wilderness of Quarantania. As though Satan drew his fallen angels and agents together, for a series of

assaults on the battlements of heaven; whose enginery, and plan, and concentrated force should be extraordinary and overwhelming; and ever with the vain hope that success might crown the result, even though God had promised to protect His own. And as these onslaughts were made, so, by a wise and notable and firm defence the fortress was preserved, the treasure was guarded, and the Divine Lord and Captain of Salvation, surrounded by His valiant and faithful soldiers and servants, remained unscathed and triumphant in the integrity of His office, and of His Being.

To understand the reason for these General Councils aright, and to realize their value and importance to us, we must remember the fact that they were the great authorized arming of the Church militant for the truth's sake, and for the defence of the Faith of the Christians in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ; and in each separate instance their definitions and statements were final, and unalterable, and they became the watchwords of the religion of our Master, and we are the inheritors of all that they so reverently prepared and preserved.

The Christians of the East—*i.e.*, those who lived in Asia Minor, in Palestine, in Egypt—were by a characteristic temperament prone to argument, and fond of philosophical and

metaphysical theorizing. They differed entirely from the people of the West—those who dwelt in Italy, Gaul, Spain, or Britain. The Western Christians were more practical; given to plans of organization and administration, and political work, in Church or state. They were more commercial and enterprising, more active physically, and less meditative and speculative, than the poetizing people of the warmer East and South.

Therefore we find that the mystical mind of the Oriental Christian would fix its methods of induction and deduction, its subtle logic, and its subtler philosophic reasoning, upon theories concerning the Being of God. And following along the lines of those special schools of thought to which he may have belonged, whether Platonic, Socratic, or Gnostic, the conclusions reached at last were often subversive of the simple truth of the Gospel. Thus the doctrine of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ became, I repeat, the battle-field over which these warring philosophers fought; and as one leader would attack the Person of our Lord, and another leader would assault the Natures of Christ; as one set of offenders would cry out against His Divinity, and another depreciate His Humanity; these General Councils were summoned by the highest known authority—

viz., the Emperor himself; and the Patriarchs and Bishops would, under the direct guidance of the inspiring Holy Ghost, set forth the renewed, and more explicit statements of the indefectible "Faith once delivered to the Saints." To these Councils all the Bishops of the world were summoned, and the undivided Christian Church thus represented in its plenary and œcumenical character, could render unquestionable verdict, and forever close the matter at issue with the decrees then formulated. Remarkable is the story of those three or four hundred years from the second to the fifth centuries, and fierce were the contentions, widespread was the interest, and long and persistent were the discordant debates and angry discussions, over these theological terms and dogmatic differences. They were the popular themes for every-day conversations; they occupied the time of young and old, rich and poor, wise and foolish, high and low. The soldiers in the barracks, the sailors lounging about the docks, the ballad-singers at the street corners, the lecturers on the public rostra, the learned doctors in the halls and groves of philosophy, the Priests and Bishops in their pulpits, found these questions the burning and vital topics of the day and hour. And as a result of these several attempts at popular theo-

rizing and dogmatizing, from time to time some powerful and persuasive master of dialectics would reach a conclusion pleasing to the multitude and lead them in his train. And so Arius heads a party that boldly denies that Jesus was truly the Son of God ; and Apollinarius arises and denies that Christ possessed a human soul. And Nestorius rends Christ asunder and divides Him into two Persons ; and Eutyches confounds and mixes the human and Divine natures of our Lord. Thus did the early heresies, in the Christian Church, come into existence. And to contradict them, and condemn their authors, and reaffirm and establish the Faith in these special particulars and on these several points, and to prepare the Creeds we have inherited, were the General Councils brought together.

The doctrines of the heretic Arius had spread rapidly, throughout the entire Eastern world. After his defeat and excommunication, and after the formal publication of the orthodox Creed by the Council of Nicæa, his teachings continued to be acceptable with all sorts and conditions of men. Indeed, it was unpopular to hold the Catholic truth concerning Christ ; and the little groups of faithful ones were very much like the early Christians of apostolic days, compelled to associate in communities, for self-protection and preser-

vation. The Emperors themselves became Arians; and the day of Christianity seemed to be overcast with an ominous cloud which threatened to extinguish its light. But at last God raised up a strong defender in the person of the Emperor Theodosius, who shortly after his coronation, in the year 380, received Holy Baptism. He was evidently a man of indomitable will, and of that vigorous sort of courage, which being sure of its cause, proceeds directly to the accomplishment of its object. Such men are natural governors and their fearlessness is applauded by the common people, who readily and eagerly see commanding virtues, and accept the directions advertised by their superiors. Born of orthodox Christian parents; reared to the profession of arms; victorious over the barbaric hordes of Huns and Goths that swarmed down from their northern fastnesses upon his fair dominions; a hardened soldier—we should scarcely look for a champion of Religion in such a warrior and ruler. Yet when Theodosius assumed the throne and became Emperor of the East, among his first edicts was the announcement that the pure and undefiled doctrines of the Catholic Church, as set forth in the Council of Nicæa, must be the religion of his subjects. Those were days when men were not allowed to worship as

they pleased, and believe whatsoever they might choose. The pagans must give up the adoration of Serapis in Alexandria; the Jews must hold their ecclesiastical methods in abeyance; the followers of Arius, or of any other heretic, must cease to gather together in public places; their churches must be turned over to Priests sound in the Faith; and their Dioceses must be vacated, and Bishops of unquestioned integrity of belief must be inducted. It was certainly not a tolerant age, and the measures adopted were indeed heroic; yet it seems to have been a retaliation upon those who had themselves been bitter persecutors of the Church. At this time the city of Constantinople, seated queen-like on the blue shores of the Straits of Bosporus, was the residence of the Emperor. It became the capital of the East, as Rome was the mistress of the West. The Bishop of Constantinople was henceforth to hold becoming rank next to the Bishop of Imperial Rome, and his rights must be announced, and his place accorded. But Damophilus, its chief Pastor, unfortunately proved to be an Arian. Therefore he was driven from his seat; and the holy Gregory of Nazianzum, an aged and devout servant of our Lord, was reluctantly brought from his humble post to stem if possible the rising tide of error.

Old Gregory was a famous preacher. His learning was profound, and his spiritual life one of great beauty. With head bent low upon his breast, and in plain, unattractive garb, this venerable prelate and theologian clearly and convincingly preached upon the doctrine of the Trinity to the multitudes that thronged to hear his loving words. At first he undertook his missionary labors in a dwelling-house, and called it Anastasia, the "Place of the Resurrection of the Faith." He endeavored to rally and gather around him the scattered and bewildered adherents of the Nicene doctrine concerning Christ; and in the midst of so much that was false, though popular, his single desire was to "witness" to the inheritance handed down by the Fathers. But his experience was hard, and he became for a while a sufferer for the cause. He was dragged before the civil authorities by the Arians, as a disturber of the peace; he was insulted by the monks and virgins; and the rabble treated him with ignominy and railings. Yet he patiently held his peace, and taught daily the lessons of the Divine Master. He was even wounded in the house of his friends, for one Maximus who had professed to be his disciple, but who proved to be a worldly ecclesiastical adventurer, was moved easily to an act of treachery—and of sacrilege.

It is difficult for us to comprehend such confusion and such revolutionary conditions as existed among those who professed and called themselves Christians. Intruding into Constantinople at this time came a band of Bishops from Egypt, and led by Peter of Alexandria; they took Maximus into their confidence, seduced him from Gregory, his friend and Father, and stealing into the church by night, consecrated him Bishop of the city and Diocese. Here then was a conflict of authorities and a radical and distressing evil, requiring much Christian forbearance on the one hand, and positive, unquestioned decision on the other hand. But besides these practical troubles, serious *theological* perplexities had arisen into prominence.

The Arian heresy had been condemned by a General Council, and repudiated by the Emperor, but multiplied errors sprang up like rank growths of noxious weeds in the garden of the Lord.

Apollinarius was the Bishop of Laodicæa, a city of Asia Minor lying far to the east of Constantinople, and he appears upon the stage at this time as the leader of a new and most dangerous doctrine. And here it might be well to state, that in those distant days every city of any importance had its own Bishop. Dioceses were almost as small as some of our modern parishes,

and not at all like unto the vast jurisdictions over which the Church in this country has placed her Apostolic governors. So that there were great numbers of Bishops scattered over the length and breadth of the then known Christian and civilized world. This fact will somewhat explain the cause for so many warring and antagonistic factions, and schools of theological expression; and it will give us better comprehension of the personal rivalries, the spread of worldliness among the ecclesiastics, and the bitter feuds between those who should have been brethren in a common cause.

The picture of the era which we are hastily scanning, is one of the most bewildering and confused, drawn by the pencil of history; for assuredly peace had fled from the Temple of Christ, and the polemical warfare of the doctrinaires was at times degraded to deeds of violence and of blood. With so large a number of Bishops, it is little wonder that many occupants of those primitive sees were men of unworthy characters and unspiritual lives. Numbers of them were unscrupulous, and many were without doctrinal conviction or stamina, so that here and there, as already indicated, when a superior intellect, or a Bishop with dominating force or revolutionary genius, asserted himself, the weaker and less stable

characters clustered about his standard, and became noisy, unprincipled disciples of the new definitions, or the arrogant and insolent claims of their regarded master. Troublous times they were, and had been since the Nicene Council promulged its decrees; and so multiplied were the sects, and so outspoken the schools of schism, and so defiant the religious rebellions, each marshalled and organized, and each bearing the name of its accepted chieftain, that it was becoming evident to the faithful that the Emperor must convene another œcumenical assemblage, to reaffirm the truth and to silence the noisy wranglers. There were Arians and Semi-arians, and Manichæans, and Anomœans and Sabellians, and Photinians, and Luciferians, and a score of other followings, each with its motto, and its special or peculiar shade of denial, opposition, or unbelief. And the review of the period might seem to us, of this nineteenth century, as a delirium of religion, did we not realize the grotesqueness of a Christendom in *these days*, divided, and subdivided, by a shallow separation that disintegrates, if it may not destroy. And now Apollinarius, the Bishop of Laodicæa, comes forward with his adherents, and he takes the very opposite course from that followed by his distinguished heresiarch Arius—"by maiming the humanity" of

our Blessed Lord. Arius had repudiated the Divinity of Christ, Apollinarius contested against this heresy with all his vigor, but in so doing he disturbed the equable division of truth, and announced that our Lord was not possessed of a perfect human nature, and stated that He was "not perfect man."

The Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation presents Christ before the world as being one Person, and possessing two perfect and complete Natures—Divine and human. Homely is the illustration, that would indicate a bowl containing water and oil in equal proportions; separate, unmixed, not confused, as illuminating this Faith, of the dual nature of our Lord held in the single Personality; and yet it may assist us by its very simplicity. Apollinarius, we repeat, maimed the perfect *human* nature of Christ, though he held against Arius the *Divinity* of our Lord. He was a Platonist in his philosophic and theological views and methods of reasoning. A man of rich and varied cultivation, and like his father, a skilled rhetorician. He wrote extensively, and was an author of no mean reputation. As a controversialist in the days of the apostate Emperor Julian, he prepared ingenious tracts and pamphlets to overthrow the heresies that prevailed, and to enlarge the domain of Christian truth.

How sad it is, that in his eagerness to maintain the standard against one wing of the enemies' hosts, he should have been flanked and captured on the other side of these momentous issues. Apollinarius was genial and winsome of manner, and his brilliant intellectual gifts, so zealously employed in the defence of the Church against Arianism, won for him the honor and privilege of close friendship with the great Nicene champion and doctor, Athanasius. But let us examine more critically this teaching so subversive of the Faith. And when we realize that in our own times, there are teachers and preachers who, in conspicuous places, are led into just such dangerous lines of opinion and utterance, the importance of a clear exposition of what we ought to avoid, as well as reject, is quite manifest. Apollinarius alarmed the orthodox of his time, by denying that Christ had a perfect human nature. He argued, that if Jesus were possessed of a human soul, *i.e.*, a rational and intellectual soul (*νοῦς*), He must with it have a freedom of will, and therefore a tendency to sin. In order, then, to reduce this dilemma to a working basis, Apollinarius declared that the Divine *λόγος* took the place of the human soul, thus controlling our Lord against the possibilities of falling into evil. But if this were true, our Master would cease

to touch us in our great human need. He would cease to be the "Daysman" between God and man; and the precious sympathy between an elder Brother "tempted in all points as we are," and ourselves, would become almost an impossibility.

Apollinarius had wounded the Lord's humanity, and he believed that he had found a scriptural and defensible basis on which he might build up his theory. This then it was, that agitated the guardians of the sacred deposit; and for the final, authoritative settlement of so momentous a question, the Church herself must speak with infallible directness through the mouth of a General Council, inspired by God the Holy Ghost. That our Lord had a human body, no man could rationally deny, although Apollinarius had gone so far as to maintain that His flesh came down from heaven, and was not taken by Him of the substance of the Blessed Virgin (cf. Robertson's "Hist. of the Christian Church," vol. i., p. 378). But that He had a perfect human soul appears from His "increasing in wisdom" (Luke ii. 52); from the possibility of His being ignorant (Mark xiii. 32), which could not be true of Him considered only in His Divine nature; from His being liable to temptation (Matt. iv. 1, and Heb. iv. 15; from His feeling

sorrow and sympathy (Luke xix. 41, and John xi. 35, and Matt. xxiii. 37, 38); from the separation of His Soul from His Body at death, the Soul descending to Hades, while the Body was laid in the grave (Acts ii. 27). And as the nature of His Godhead was not changed (God not being capable of change) by union with His manhood, so also the nature of His manhood was not changed by being taken into His Godhead, further than that it was thereby exalted, ennobled, glorified. For the object of God's taking flesh, was that He might take to Himself a nature like our own, in which He might be tempted with our temptations, liable to our sorrows and infirmities, and subject to our sufferings and death. The properties, therefore, of His human nature were not sunk nor absorbed in His Divine nature, any more than His Divine nature was altered or corrupted by His human nature" (cf. "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles," by Bishop Browne, pp. 76, 77, American Edition; also consult Bishop Forbes's "Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles," on Article II.).

But the sad defection of Apollinarius was not the only trouble that distressed the Church at this period, for the sect of Macedonians had marshalled their ranks under the leader from whom they took their name, and they denied

the Personality of God the Holy Ghost. The Nicene Creed as issued, A.D. 325, had closed its statement with the words, "We believe in the Holy Ghost"—and now some further announcements must be prepared on this essential doctrine. Macedonius had been the Patriarch of Constantinople. He was a man of violent temper, a bitter partisan, and a vindictive persecutor. Ambitious, unscrupulous, keen, and unyielding, he headed an Arian faction, and succeeded, by murderous uprisings and by bloodshed, in expelling the orthodox Bishop of the city, and assumed the Episcopate himself. Quite unlike the wise, scholarly Apollinarius, he was a leader of turbulent factions, and marshalled his followers, who had been called *Pneumatomachi*, or "Fighters against the Spirit," to their sad warfare against the Church and her belief. At last he was himself overcome and expelled, and though he did not long survive his deposition, his heresy troubled the faithful for many years. Indeed, it survives to-day, and has moulded the conception of the work and office of the Holy Ghost, in the minds of many Christian people. For the Divine Spirit is not an *afflatus*, a breath, an influence, a poetic enthusiasm, a vague diffusion of intangible force; but the Holy Ghost, the Third Person of the adorable Godhead, is a Being who

works, who operates His sanctifying offices in the Church and in the individual. We may not "grieve Him" (Eph. iv. 30). "He maketh intercession for us" (Rom. viii. 26). "He knoweth all things" (1 Cor. ii. 11). "He divideth Spiritual gifts to men" (1 Cor. xii. 11). "He speaks to men; to apostles and prophets" (Acts x. 19, and xiii. 2). "He is sent by our Lord to guide into all truth" (John xiv., xv., and xvi.). "His gifts dwell in men at their baptism" (Matt. xxviii. 19), their confirmation (Acts viii. 17), their ordinations (John xx. 22), and He is coequal with the Father and the Son (Matt. xxviii. 19). The Person of the Holy Ghost, then, was attacked blasphemously by Macedonianism. And thus it is apparent, by this study of the manifold difficulties which beset the Christians of the end of the fourth century, that the time had come for a final settlement of the disputes, the wrangling, and the denials of the age. Bishops were intruding into the jurisdictions of their neighbors. Confusion as to precedence and rank produced sad conflicts of authority; heresies would destroy the human nature of our Lord; and God the Holy Ghost had been insulted and rejected. Ah! there was great need for earnest prayer, for searchings of heart, for brave defence, for patient and wise consultations, and for supernatural guidance, and un-

mistakable definition. And so the day for the great Council dawned upon the disturbed community in fair Constantinople. Up to the Emperor's palace, on the second morning of the shining month of May, came the Bishops who had been assembling for some weeks previous. Attended by their deacons and faithful presbyters, with a becoming pomp and an impressiveness of demeanor, they gathered in the audience chambers of the imperial house. Interesting and distinguished personages they were. There was S. Meletius, of Antioch, meek in his manner, spiritual in his look, faithful in his adherence; and yonder came S. Gregory, of Nyssa in Cappadocia, intense and eager in disposition, humble in bearing, formerly a monk in the umbrageous hill country of the Iris, the brother of S. Basil, the friend of Gregory of Nazianzen, and one of that renowned theological trio, called "the three great Cappadocians." Here, too, might be seen S. Cyril, the Bishop of Jerusalem, almost a martyr for his convictions, and receiving the applause and acclaim of his brethren as he took his place in the conclave. Apostolic men were come from Iconium, and Tarsus, and Cæsarea; men of fortitude and of a well-disciplined determination, who were ready if needs be to "lay down their lives" for the sake of the truth. One hundred and fifty of

these fathers of old had taken their appointed seats, and yet still another contingent enters in, to discuss the mighty topics soon to be submitted. They seem to form a group by themselves, and appear to hold aloof from the others now assembled. Thirty-six Bishops are counted, distinguished by their robes of office, and exciting unwonted interest by their presence. They are the adherents of the Macedonian views, and have come in a body from the dioceses of the Hellespont, determined to defend their cause, and to explain the doctrines and practices of their Churches. The Bishops present were all Eastern prelates; the Bishop of Rome, Damasus, was not in the Council, nor was he represented, because the Emperor Theodosius had no authority in the West, his government being divided with Gratian, as associate on the double throne. And, now, the assembled ecclesiastics take their positions in a regularity of order. The Bishops sat in a circle, ranked according to their provinces. The attending priests were grouped behind, and the deacons occupied lower sedilia in front. What a solemn hush fell upon this august gathering, as the Emperor, clad in his royal garments, arose to appoint a president for the body. He had had a strange dream in the years gone by. He had seen in his night-

visions a holy servant of God approaching him, after his victory over the barbarians; and by this saintly person he seemed to be crowned with a golden circle, and the royal purple put upon his shoulders. He had never met S. Meletius, but when his eye rested upon the good man he quickly recognized him, and running to him while the Bishops looked on in amazement and wonder, he kissed his eyes, his mouth, his breast, and the hand that had placed the diadem on his head in the dream. Explaining then his actions, he expressed desire that Meletius should preside over their deliberations. Their first business was to consider the case of the intrusion of Maximus into the See of Constantinople; and after full trial they declared his consecration void, and debarred him and his acts. They then, upon the nomination of the Emperor, selected the lowly missionary Gregory Nazianzen, whose services had been so salutary in the great metropolis, as the rightful Bishop of the See. In vain did he protest, in vain were his tears and groans; he was old, broken with labors, and he had no desire for so burdensome a post. But the Council would not heed him, and with brilliant ceremonials, he was soon thereafter inducted into the place from which he shrank. Yet his career was but brief, for great opposition soon developed; S.

Meletius died, and was buried with much pomp; beloved and revered by all who knew him; and the Macedonian Bishops, led by Eleusius of Cyzicus, broke forth into loud declamations against Gregory, which were echoed by the Egyptian Bishops, because they deemed his choice undesirable and uncanonical. The aged man gladly availed himself of these differences, he longed for peace and for retirement; and going to the Emperor, he pleaded with him for release from the unhappy position into which he had been forced. His request was granted, the Council agreed to the decision, and in a farewell sermon of extraordinary eloquence and pathos, he relinquished his place, and abandoned the Council.

Timothy, the Bishop of Alexandria, had been foremost in the opposition to Gregory, and it is apparent that he became the next president of the Council. But it could have been only a temporary chairmanship, for an election was ordered, and Nectarius was chosen to the vacant Diocese and to the head of the Synod. He was a man of graceful action, venerable in years and appearance. His character was gentle and generous, though somewhat worldly; a patrician and a prætor, born in the free city of Tarsus. But he was an unbaptized layman. It is singular that such an one should have been

both nominated by the Emperor and elected by the Bishops, but so it was. He was immediately baptized, and while still wearing the white robe of a neophyte, was ordained, and consecrated to the high office and order of Bishop of Constantinople. And now the serious labors of the gathered Fathers were being daily developed. Long, and at times angry, debates took place: witnesses, testimony, the decisions of previous Councils, the expressions of apologists and apostolic writers, the words of the Holy Gospels, and the canonical Epistles were examined, expounded, and elaborated. The history of the development of the Church, of the establishment of the Dioceses, of the usages of Patriarchs and Bishops were presented, as occasion required, and the great questions at issue were attacked or defended, as the Council continued. At last the efforts of the Emperor and of the orthodox party failed to satisfy or change the opinions and avowals of the Macedonian faction, and they withdrew in anger from further sessions of the assembly, and thus cut off all hopes of reunion or settlement. It is not necessary that we should dwell in detail upon the manner or management of these lengthy, and at times unhappy, discussions. They continued through days and weeks into the heated summer, in that

semi-tropical city, and ceased at last with conclusions that were not only satisfactory to the oriental orthodox Church, but also accepted by the Churches of the West, and attested to by subsequent General Councils of the Catholic Body. At first the Egyptian Church declined to bend to the authority of this Council, but by the year A.D. 451 it was received throughout Christendom, and its voice was regarded as inspired. It gathered up in completed form the results of its deliberations, and they were published in the shape of seven canons, a synodal letter to the Emperor, and a reaffirmation of the Creed of Nicæa, with certain additions that were already in vogue among the faithful. And these rulings cut sharply through the unhealthy growths that had developed so much disorder in the Church.

The Council declared that Bishops had no jurisdiction beyond their own boundaries, and must not meddle with the government of other sees; that the Eastern Bishops must attend to the duties of their Eastern Dioceses, and could only assemble with authority when summoned to Council. This rule has continued ever since, and affects the relations of each Diocese, and of national Churches throughout the world.

The system of Patriarchates was also fully

elaborated, though in this, as in other matters, the Fathers claimed that they did no new thing, but simply reaffirmed the Nicene, and ancient rules, and customs.

The third canon gave the place of power, next after imperial Rome, to the Bishop of Constantinople, because it was "new Rome," and because the Emperor's dwelling-place was within its limits. The sixth canon forbade accusations by heretics and improper persons, against Bishops; and appeal, whenever cause was proper, must be made to a Provincial Council. No mention is made of submitting cases of this character to the Bishop of Rome, and any such method as had been allowed in former troublous times by the Council of Sardica, were abrogated, and the ancient custom of vesting superior and ultimate power in a *Council* was restored to active law. The treatment of the deep doctrinal matter submitted to this learned gathering occupied, of course, much of its time. They could not improve upon the utterances of the Nicene Council: how could they hesitate to strongly reannounce and vigorously defend what that remarkable Synod had put forth. And so they *adopted Nicea's Creed as their own*, thus condemning Arianism, whether in its balder form, or in its semi-arian conditions as taught by Apollinarius.

When the Macedonian heresy was examined, the Fathers considered a statement and definition carefully made some years before by the holy Epiphanius, who had written what follows in the present Nicene Creed after the words "We believe in the Holy Ghost," viz., these words, "the Lord and the Giver of Life; who proceedeth from the Father; who with the Father and the Son is together worshipped and glorified; who spake by the Prophets: (and) in One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins; we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen." Thus, forever acknowledg- ing the Consubstantiality, the Divinity, and the operating Personality of the third Person of the Adorable Trinity. And these strong luminous statements were later endorsed, and strengthened, and adopted by the General Council of Chalcedon, which gave to the Christian world, what the Nicene and Constantino- politan Fathers, and Epiphanius, had so pre- ciously prepared.

You will notice that this Creed announces belief in the fact that the "Holy Ghost pro- ceedeth from the Father," and no mention is made "of the Son." This last expression, which has crept into the Nicene Creed as it appears

in our offices, is the famous "Filioque." It was first added to the Symbol, at a Spanish Provincial Council held at Toledo, A.D. 589. It has been the source of much dissension and difference, and was a principal cause for the sad separation of the Eastern and Western Churches. To-day it affects the relations of the Anglican Communion with the great Orthodox Eastern Church of Russia, Greece, and the Orient, and would seem by some to mar the perfectness of our otherwise beautiful Confession of Faith. The Council of Constantinople did not issue a *new Creed*, as we have noted. They could not better express their position, than to enunciate the noble words of Nice. They had no new truth to present, and they could not more fully illumine and define the Catholic inheritance. They did not publish their utterance as novel, or peculiar, but gathering up the final sentences of their belief in God the Holy Ghost—they sent them ringing down the centuries, while succeeding General Councils republished them for all time.

In the beautiful Epistle sent to the Emperor at the conclusion of their labors, the Bishops described their decisions, and closed with these words: "We beseech you therefore to authorize the decree of the Council; that as you have honored the Church by the letters by which it

was called, you may likewise fix a conclusion and seal to our determinations." The documents bear the date of the 7th of the Ides of July, *i.e.*, the ninth day of the month, A.D. 381. Theodosius, the Emperor, with a light heart and joyous alacrity, prepared on the 30th day of the same month his letters of law to the Empire. By these directions all Churches were to be put into the hands of Bishops who confessed the Holy Trinity, while such Bishops as refused to accept the Conciliar Creed and decrees, were expelled from their places. He added other laws against heretics of various sort, severe and harsh in their character, and with bitter penalties attached. And this was the death-blow to Arianism and its developments, save as it has existed since, and now, in diluted form, or in harmless measure. And so this important œcumenical Council came to its close, and the venerable ecclesiastics who composed its body returned to their distant homes. Through them had the Divine Spirit spoken, and by them had the Faith of the Apostles been substantiated, and protected; and though the Churches did not have at once that rest and peace which are conducive to quietness and growth, yet with greater firmness, and by more confident endeavor, did the disciples of the ancient truth maintain their cause in the

face of foes, and extend the Kingdom of our Lord, relying on His promises, and assured of ultimate victory.

And are we not to-day dwelling under the gracious Benediction of that Council of the shadowy past? Are we not taught by its learned and notable Doctors in the true Faith of Christendom? Do we not, when now the enemy ariseth to assail the citadel of God, cover ourselves behind the ramparts and walls they erected, realizing the comfort and the confidence that come from an assurance that they were workmen raised up of the Lord, to settle the foundation and fling aloft the battlements of truth? For concerning the Being of God Himself, are the indestructible verities He hath uttered, through the mouths of His servants. As we in our Churches repeat the glorious and venerable words of the Nicene Constantinopolitan Creed, may we not with loving gratitude, thank the Great Head of the Kingdom for having granted to us so precious an inheritance, and so indefectible a belief? For we do but echo the voices of those Fathers of old, as we lift the bared brow, and send forth the strong, unfaltering avowal, We believe in One God the Father Almighty, and in one only-begotten consubstantial Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost, the Life giver, proceeding from the

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Father, coeternal, who with Father and Son together is worshipped and glorified, both now and forevermore. Three Persons, one only God!

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The Council of Ephesus: A.D. 431.

LECTURE IV.

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THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS: A.D. 431.

THOSE four great Councils, by which, in the fourth and fifth centuries, the Catholic Faith was defined in view of errors then and previously troubling the Christian flock, retain to this day their hold on human thought, and must retain it till the end of the world. But although, collectively and one by one, they are of paramount authority in controversies concerning the Faith, it may be suggested that their declarations appear to us to vary in importance with variations in current thought, so that the message of one Council may seem more timely at one age than at another. If this be so, we may go on and say, that a special interest seems to invest the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, at this particular era; that they bear more directly than those of other Councils on current religious topics; and that they are distinctly help-

ful to us on account of the peculiar line on which rejecters of Gospel truth pursue their tortuous course to-day. This, at least, seems to be the case, as we consider the inclination to concentrate thought on the study of Christ on the human side; the disinclination to consider anything in Him except His character and doings as a man like us; the dangerous assertions too often heard concerning His Person; and the revival of discussion about limitations of knowledge in Him in connection with recent alleged corrections of the Canon of Holy Scripture as it was accepted in His day. At a time when the minds of thoughtful men are deeply engaged in these recondite subjects, and when the temptation is strong to escape from the *crux* of some theological puzzle by the invention of an original theory, or the revival of some one of the many held long ago, we feel great need of guidance; and such may be found at Ephesus. The dogmatic decrees of that Council fit into the questions of this day with the precision of a master-key; they show intelligent minds what is the present trouble, and what its solution. This seems to be the Council which now, and at this particular time, will best repay study; and so it shall be my endeavor to bring out, as clearly as I can, the precise point then under discussion; to state

what the fathers of the Council decided ; and then to indicate the bearing of their action on some of those hard questions which perplex many an earnest believer in our own day.

To begin with, let this be said : That the study of the Council of Ephesus brings before the mind, with the distinctness of an indelible impression, two names, or rather a name and a title ; the name of a man, and the title of a woman. The man is Nestorius, Metropolitan of Constantinople ; the title is THEOTOKOS, and it belongs to the Mother of our Lord. To understand Ephesus, two things are required : to know what Nestorius and his school held and taught ; and to know what Theotokos means. For it is matter of record that, even as at Nicæa the controversy turned on one word, "Homœousios," so at Ephesus it turned on the word "Theotokos ;" and that if Nestorius could have been brought to concede that title to the Holy Virgin Mary, the Council need not and would not have been held. So let us proceed with what is to be said about the title and the man.

And, first, of the man : Contemporaneous descriptions bring him before us with pictorial effect. Trained in a monastery, he preserved the traditional type of the monk when promoted to the chief bishopric in the imperial

city. He had, we are told, the perilous gift of great fluency in extempore preaching, as well as a very beautiful and powerful voice. He appears to have been but imperfectly trained in theology, and was evidently indisposed to follow the great authorities who had preceded him. He may not have set up for that most dangerous of guides in religion, an original thinker, but his mind was in great confusion on theological questions. He was naturally a favourite at court, for men of his class are always attractive to the rich and great, who like easy-going and indulgent pastors; popular eloquence and love of applause gain favor, where those things are naturally in request. We can see him as he goes about, "clad in mourning garments, walking heavily, seeking by the pallor of his looks to appear ascetic"—the portraiture is from the life—"at home mostly given to books, and living quietly by himself, seeking to seem to be a Christian rather than to be one, and preferring his own glory to the glory of Christ." Such was the man who became involved in a controversy, which he lacked the theological knowledge and the mental acumen to manage with success, while his vanity and self-reliance compelled him to adhere to his erroneous position; for in what he believed and what he denied, he seems

to have been ever relying on opinions of his own, careless whether they were in accord with Catholic tradition or not.

To understand the nature of the net in which Nestorius was caught, let us go back a few minutes. At Nicæa, A.D. 325, it had been settled against Arius, that He by whom the world was redeemed, was God the Word, Eternal Son of the Eternal Father, and of one substance with Him, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, in opposition to the heretical notion, that whatever He might be called, He was, after all, a created being, and that there was, ever so long ago, a time when He did not exist. At Constantinople, A.D. 381, it was further declared to be of faith, that Christ, Perfect God, is also Perfect Man, having a human soul and mind, as well as a human body; in opposition to the Apollinarian notion of a mindless body, in which Deity took the place of a soul. All this was clear. Christ is Perfect God, and Christ is Perfect Man. But the moment we begin to consider the manner and results of the union of the two natures, that moment we encounter a difficulty; we hardly know what to think, what to say. How could Christ be God and Man at once, without being two different persons? Must there not be a Divine Christ and a Human Christ? And par-

ticularly staggering to minds prone to speculate in religion is the question, How God the Word could have been born of a mortal woman? That was the question which hopelessly wrecked Nestorius. He accepted the decree of Nicæa, and acknowledged Christ to be God; he accepted likewise the decree of Constantinople, and acknowledged Him to be true Man; but he could not understand the nature of the union, and so he made up an explanation which amounted to this, that there must have been two Christs; that is to say, that Mary's Son was a man, a human person, but not the Divine Person called in Holy Scripture the Word, and the Son of God. That this was his view is clear, from the fact that he persistently refused to apply to her the title "Theotokos." That means the Bringer Forth of God, or, to put it into plain English, the Mother of God; and Nestorius, in refusing to call the Blessed Virgin the Mother of God, disclosed the fact that he did not believe that a Divine Person was born of her. He would not admit it, because he could not see how it could be. He could think of her as the Mother of a Christ, but not as the Mother of the Word Eternal; the Mother of a man, but not of God; and therefore he supposed that in Christ there must have been two distinct persons; a man, a human per-

son, an individual like unto one of us, whom she brought forth, and a Divine Personality which allied that man, the Son of Mary, to Himself, and made that Son of Mary a God-clad individual, filled through that alliance with grace and truth. He could not comprehend the union of the two natures; and being one of those whose vanity forbids them to accept as truth anything which they do not understand, and yet unwilling to break with the Church, he invented a theory to help him out of his dilemma.

There is not time, nor is it necessary, to go into a review of the history of the Council. From the writers of the period you may learn how the trouble began; how Nestorius, in whose presence a sermon containing strictures on the word *Theotokos* was preached, supported the preacher and announced that he concurred in his opinion; how Cyril, the Bishop of Alexandria, appeared as champion of the faith against the rising error: how Theodosius, the Emperor, the friend of Nestorius, called a General Council, no doubt with the hope that the Metropolitan would be sustained; how delays occurred, through waiting for the arrival of John, Patriarch of Antioch, with his delegation of Syrian Bishops; how the assembled fathers at length proceeded without longer

waiting, and having examined the question at issue, defined the faith and deposed Nestorius: how the Syrians, arriving after the Council had adjourned, refused to accept its decrees; how S. Cyril suffered for the part he had taken in fighting the falsehood; how factious opposition failed of its purpose; how the Churches throughout the world came in and gave adhesion, while the unhappy Nestorius sank out of view and died in exile; and how, twenty years later, the great Council of Chalcedon reaffirmed the Acts of Ephesus, so that they stand, ever since and now, as an infallibly true statement on the points to which they relate. These things would be as interesting in the recital as they are in the reading; but the time at our disposal this evening must be spent, not in reading a thrilling story, but in studying the point discussed and decided by the Council, that we may the better understand its bearing on the thoughts of our own time. And so let us come back, for a while, to Nestorius.

The impression has been sedulously fostered and is wide-spread, that he was severely dealt with; but do not people like him bring their misfortunes on themselves? Why should a man not well-grounded in dogmatic theology undertake to lay down the law on any point within its range? Nestorius had his good

side, no doubt; but he was a weak man, who, as is the case with heretics, did not know precisely what he believed, and was strongest in his protests and denials. The gamut of error is long, and the performers, as they run over it, bring forth many a confused and uncertain sound and many a discord. Nestorius complained that his adversaries ascribed to him doctrines which he did not hold; he even stated certain propositions, as embodying his belief, which propositions had a kind of orthodox sound, and might have passed as sufficient for his acquittal, had he not betrayed himself elsewhere; for as soon as he got off the line which he had reluctantly drawn, he would say wild things, quite at variance with his previous statements and evidently heretical; just like men in our own day, who having earnestly assured us that they believe the Nicene Creed, proceed to put meanings of their own into it, which completely change its sense.

There is really no difficulty in finding out what he held; it is impossible that for sixteen hundred years the Church has been misinformed on that subject; it is too plain what his error was; unfortunately it is the error of large numbers to-day, who might be correctly described as the Nestorians of our own period. Undoubtedly his idea was this: That in our

Lord there were two distinct persons; that there was a human Christ, and that there was a Divine Christ; that what might be said of the one must not be said of the other; in short, that it was not God who was made man, but man who was made God. According to his account an individual was born of Mary, Jesus Christ by name, who subsequently became united to God in a singularly close identification, so that, though God the Word was one with the child whom Mary bore, He was so as a great and wonderful person may be said to be one with a humbler friend, by moral union, affection, and perfect harmony of thought and act. It is distinctly Nestorian to allege, that the union of the two natures in Christ did not begin with the creation of the first rudimental germ of humanity; that a Christ was first born into the world, and that at some time after that birth, the Divine Nature was added to the human, and so God was in Christ; that our Lord was a human Saviour connected strictly with God, a man clothed on with deity; that the Eternal Word threw His glory around the humble Jew, as a man throws a cloak around his shoulders and in it wraps his person. Propositions which involve the conclusion, however it may be disguised by fine words, that the relation of God to the Son of Mary was the same

in kind, although not of course in degree, as His relation to any devout Christian. Nestorius, in considering the subject, probably fixed on a particular time at which the union was effected ; very likely that of the baptism of our Lord in the Jordan, when the Holy Ghost descended on Him. One thing he would not admit, that it occurred before His birth. He would not admit that He who was begotten from eternity of the Father was the same who was born of Mary ; and therefore he stuck at that title to which we have referred. To quote the historian Socrates : " He dreaded the term as they do hob-goblins, and this out of great ignorance ; " and he said, that instead of Theotokos, or Mother of God, she should be called Christotokos, or Anthroptokos, the Mother of Christ, or the Mother of a Man. To take that position is to assail the Faith of the Gospel at its vital point ; for with the denial that Mary's Son was God, the unity of the Redeemer with the entire human race is denied, and the Brotherhood of God with us men, and the Power of the Atonement, and the Sacramental System ; nay, the very Incarnation itself.

Let us, then, consider this term Theotokos and see what it was intended to express. Nestorius must have known perfectly well what it meant, for it had been in familiar use by every

school in the Church for nearly two hundred years. Origen and Eusebius, Socrates the historian, Alexander the predecessor of S. Athanasius, and S. Athanasius himself; the Arian Eusebius, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, and Julian the Apostate, the two Gregories, S. Chrysostom, all knew the word and what it meant; while the corresponding title, *Mater Dei*, Mother of God, was used in the Latin Church by S. Ambrose, Cassian, and Vincent of Lerins. It was precisely the word needed to express a particular fact; and if we had not had it, we should now be compelled to invent a term equally fit to carry the meaning.

The fact may best be brought out by asking one simple question; we ask it with a reverence unspeakably profound; but it is a question which must be asked and answered. Mary the Virgin: What, or whom, did she bring forth that night at Bethlehem? Who, or what was her child?

Will you say, she brought forth no person at all, but human nature? Is there any sense in the words you employ? Any meaning in your statement? Practically, we know of human nature only in connection with personal existence: none but persons have human nature; and whoever has human nature must be a person of some kind; it exists along with a personality of some sort, and not as an abstraction. "A per-

son," says John Henry Newman, "is an intelligent, individual agent."* The presence of such an intelligent individual agent is necessarily understood in case of a birth; it is understood in this case. Who then was the intelligent, individual, personal being, who was born into the world of men, on whom the Virgin Mother fixed her eyes, rejoicing over her first-born son? It does no good to skulk here, and take refuge in metaphysics, and try to throw dust in our eyes by talking about ideas, and impersonal humanities existing in an imaginary region of unrealized abstraction; for no note is given of any such puzzling anomaly in that inn where Mary bore, that manger wherein she laid, her child. Nor yet drop down to some base and vulgar physical conception, as if there came forth from that blessed womb mere rudimental vestiges of a being that should afterward exist, but having as yet no personal reality; that would have been a miscarriage, and not a birth. The account of the Birth of Christ is plain history. Just as the mother of to-day, her pain and sorrow over, presses to her heart a living, dear, and perfect child, so was it with that Holy Mother; not less real was her joy, nor less exact the personal relationship between that

* See Arians of the Fourth Century, Chap. ii., Sec. ii.

Mother and that Child. Not an abstraction ; not a vehicle of flesh and bone as yet without a real tenant ; not a mindless body ; but she brought forth her first-born Son. Who was that first-born Son ?

There are but two answers to that question. Admitting that the birth did take place at Bethlehem, and that Some One was born, a question arises at once as to the identity of the individual then born, and the choice is between the answer in the Creed and an answer outside of the Creed. Either it was a Divine Person, or it was a human person. Either it was, as the Creed affirms, the Only Begotten Son of God, Begotten of His Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, the Divine and Eternal Logos, Who for us men and for our salvation came down from Heaven, and was made Very Man of the Substance of the Virgin Mary His Mother ; or else it was a human being, one individual of our race, a man like one of ourselves. Now, if you take the latter view of the case, then mark well, that whatever you may say about that fortunate individual ; however brilliantly you may rhapsodize about the marvellous destiny to which he was born, and the alliance through which he was lifted up to Brotherhood with God ; whatever titles of honor you may lavish on him

in praise of that glorification of him ; there stands, baldly, coldly, behind all your fine speeches, a denial of the Deity, and the postulate that it was *not* God, but a man whom Mary brought into the world. And so, the question whether Mary is Theotokos, or, as the Latins would say, *Mater Dei*, *Dei Genitrix*, or as the English hath it, the *Mother of God*, is simply the question whether the World's Redeemer and Our Saviour was the Divine Person whom we believe Him to be, or a human person, advanced and promoted, some time after his birth, either as a reward to his virtue and merit, or in pursuance of a Divine plan and purpose to that effect, to the honours, the powers, and even the name of God Most High. I say that this is the choice, and that as men make it they cannot help it, but they must take side with Catholic believers, or slide into the ranks of the heretics.

Nestorianism is an instance of the effort to retain orthodox language while escaping the tremendous strain which it puts on faith. The unfortunate man tried to steer between belief and unbelief. He was not a Socinian ; nor a humanitarian ; he did not deny the Nicene Creed, but he could not accept the Mystery of the Holy Incarnation ; and so he explained. Christ is both God and Man ; but not both at once, nor as One ; there must have been two dis-

tinct personalities in Him. First there was one, and then there were two. First a child was born of Mary; and that Christ was a man. Next God the Son came, and took that man to Himself, and called Himself Christ, by that man's name. And so he would not allow human attributes to be predicated of the Divine Christ, nor Divine attributes of the Human Christ. He would say of Christ that He is God over all blessed forevermore, and yet he would deny in the same breath that God was born of Mary or that God died for us. To talk like this, whether in the fourth century or the nineteenth, sounds like playing fast and loose with Holy Scripture and the Creed; but what else can a man do when he will not accept the teaching of the Catholic Church? And so they go: Christ is this but not that; Christ does this but He does not that; the Christ who is man was born of Mary, but the other Christ who is God was not. These two Christs are the two Dromios of theology, if the confused notions of the school deserve that name. Nor is there any telling how far these distinctions may be drawn. They may involve the idea of a human Christ who could have sinned, and did make blunders, and was not trustworthy, who could be all at sea on points of literature and criticism, and imbued with su-

perstitutions, and far inferior in knowledge and wisdom to many a college professor of our time; and yet a Christ to admire, and believe in, on the score of relation to another Christ, who is the same, yet not the same. There was a Christ who was born and suffered and died. But God cannot be born, or suffer, or die; so that Christ was not God. Yet still we ought to believe in Him, and love, and call ourselves by His name, and call ourselves Christians. Was that the preaching which converted the pagan Empire to Christ? Was that the Christ whose name conjured the old spectres and drove them to the abyss? Is that the Christ whom we adore to-day?

I do not affirm of the unfortunate Nestorius that he held all these contradictory notions; but I cite them as specimens of the result of denying the Hypostatic Union, and refusing to assent to the teaching of the Council, that Christ is One Divine Person, in whom two natures are perfectly united, without commingling or confusion. To allege that there are two Persons, is to make it out that there are two Christs, united as loving friends are bound to one another, in heart, soul, and will. Such a union presents not the slightest difficulty to thought; it is intelligible and of frequent occurrence; thus was it with Abraham, who

was called the Friend of God ; thus with Moses, whose face once shone with the light cast on it from the Divine glory ; thus has it been with the saints in all ages, and thus is it now with many of His children who are growing into the fulness of the stature of the Lord. But the Hypostatic union was singular, and unique ; never effected but once, and then effected never to be broken ; the union not of two Christs, but of two natures, wherein cometh to us One Christ, perfect God and perfect Man, in the Unity of the Person of the Eternal Word ; a union described sufficiently for practical purposes in the formula : “ *The Word was God : the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld His Glory, the Glory of the Only Begotten of the Father full of grace and truth.* ”

And now I think we are ready to pass from the old time to the new. The work of the holy Fathers at Ephesus was done well. The place selected was convenient of access by sea ; it was also the city in which S. Mâry died ; and the Council was opened, June 22d, in a Church which had been dedicated in her name, the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Canons were passed twelve in number, and among them were the following : *

* I follow the translation in the Digest of Theology, by Henry R. Percival, M.A., pp. 191-193. Philadelphia : John J. McVey, 1893.

Canon I. If anyone will not confess that the Emanuel is Very God, and that therefore the Holy Virgin is the Mother of God, inasmuch as in the flesh she bore the Word of God made Flesh (as it is written, the Word was made Flesh): let him be anathema.

Can. IV. If anyone shall divide between two persons or subsistences those expressions which are contained in the Evangelical and Apostolical writings, or which have been said concerning Christ by the Saints, or by Himself, and shall apply some to Him as to a man separate from the Word of God, and shall apply others to the Only Word of God the Father, on the ground that they are fit to be applied to God: let him be anathema.

Can. V. If anyone shall dare to say that the Christ is a Theophorus (that is God-bearing) man and not rather that He is Very God, as an only Son through nature, because the Word was made Flesh and hath a share in flesh and blood as we do: let him be anathema.

Can. VII. If anyone shall say that Jesus as man is only energized by the Word of God, and that the glory of the Only Begotten is attributed to Him as something not properly His: let him be anathema.

Can. XII. Whosoever shall not recognize that the Word of God suffered in the flesh, that

He was crucified in the flesh, and that likewise in that same flesh He tasted death, and that He is become the first begotten of the dead, for, as He is God, He is the life and it is He that giveth life: let him be anathema.

These, and the other dogmatic statements of the Council, concern us directly to-day. As part of the Catholic Code, they are received in the Anglican Communion and therefore in our own branch of the Church. In Statute I. Elizabeth, XXXVI., A.D. 1558, heresy is defined to be whatever is contrary to the doctrine of the First General Councils. In the Lambeth Council of 1867, and again in 1888, the Archbishops, Bishops Metropolitan, and other Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church in communion with the Church of England declared that they hold the One Faith, revealed in Holy Writ, defined in the Creeds, maintained by the Primitive Church, and affirmed by the Undisputed Ecumenical Councils. The Lower House of the General Convention of 1877 requested the House of Bishops to provide for the setting forth of an accurate version in the English language of the creeds and other acts of the said undisputed General Councils concerning the faith, thus (*i.e.*, by the Lambeth Conference of 1867) proclaimed as the standards of Orthodox Belief for the whole Church. These Acts and

Canons cannot be considered among us as obsolete verbiage; rather may it be said of them, with reverence, that to us "they are spirit and they are truth;" nor would it be easy to exaggerate their value as tests of the extent of the departure of modern thought from the principles of the Gospel.

In reading what passes current as Christian literature; in listening to discourses preached outside the Church, and sometimes, alas! in our own pulpits; in quiet conference with friends on religious themes, one is startled and shocked to find to what an extent Nestorian error has resumed its blighting work. There is something plaintive and pathetic in the struggle of some good men to retain their inherited belief in Christ as God, though convinced that there was a side in Him on which after all He was but an erring and fallible man. Take, for instances, the alleged discoveries of modern critics, and their bold assumptions that portions of the book of Genesis, much of the book of Exodus, the whole of Leviticus and the two books of Chronicles were written after the captivity, that the story of Moses and Mount Sinai, the old covenant, the tabernacle, and the Aaronic priesthood is but a tissue of Rabbinical invention; that Psalm CX. was not written by David, and has no reference to Christ; with

much more to the same effect. A process of criticism like this may end in sweeping away all reverence for the Bible, and making an end of our faith in it as a revelation from God. But what, then, is to be thought of Christ? He quoted Moses, and the Psalms, and particularly Psalm CX.; so that, if the Bible be really the bundle of forgeries that it is represented to be, Christ must either have known the fact, or been deceived, as the whole world has been for eighteen hundred years. If the critics are right, what is to be done? The conclusion is inevitable: that he was an ignorant person, who never outgrew His errors, an untrustworthy and fallible Christ, whose virtues, however, and whose personal merit, give Him the hold on us to which His wisdom and knowledge do not entitle Him; and yet, if that is to be our conception of the Lord, where can the idea of His Divinity come in? There is a way out of this dilemma; it is, to accept the Nestorian distinction between one Christ that was human, and another Christ that was divine. Such a distinction, though it cannot long satisfy the mind, may serve to bridge the gulf between faith in Him as God, and respect for Him as an earnest though erring man. Critics of the advanced school may still profess confidence in the living oracles, but the probability is that the next generation will kick

the crazy platform away and repudiate all reverence for the Book, save as a literary curiosity and venerable relic of the past. So the man who takes refuge in the Nestorian hypothesis, from doubt of the statement that "in Christ were hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," must end in giving up the idea of the Divinity and falling back on that of the mere humanity. He walks a plank across a roaring torrent, which soon must break, and launch him into the abyss beneath.

Let me call your attention to another point : the tendency to dwell on the human side in Christ, until it seems to be forgotten that there was another. The idol of our age, as everyone sees, is humanity : Men never tire of lauding, extolling, and magnifying the "golden image" which they have set up. Along with this glorification of human nature for its own sake, goes a devotion to the temporal interests of man which implies that his eternal interests, allowing that he has any, are of comparatively slight importance. Religion seems now to be taken as consisting solely in philanthropic effort ; social reform is more necessary than spiritual. Houses are built and endowed and carried on by Christian men, for good work of every kind except teaching and training in Gospel truth and Christian doctrine ; foreign missions are

recommended on the ground that commercial and material advantages must result to the profit of the world at large, and with a lurking idea that the souls of the heathen are in no appreciable danger at present, and that the religions which they have are good enough for them. It falls in with this drift that men, if they still keep up an interest in Christ, should dwell on the Human in Him, and let the Divine go. What more natural? The less we feel a personal need of God, the less do we require a Divine Redeemer; and wherever religion and morals are divorced the statements of the Creed sound like metaphysical puzzles of which one cannot see the bearing on the practical interests of the age. "What need of a Divine Christ? We are all divine; we are all the sons of God; forms of faith make no difference; man's help cometh from himself, from within. That Christ of the Creed was after all a man first, one of our glorious throng, the noblest Roman of them all." One may not be prepared to go quite so far as this; he may still desire to retain somewhat of the old notions of Christ as God; let him ask help of Nestorius, and discern with him between two Christs; the Christ-man and the Christ-God. The Man Christ is the thing we want, the philanthropist, the social reformer. As for the

Christ-God, acceptance of the idea is a concession to orthodoxy; that Christ is a poetic and legendary vision, fading out, faster and faster, from year to year.

Once more; consider the intense hostility of the modern mind to the supernatural and the miraculous. That feeling in the outside world is a source of continual uneasiness to many timid and scary believers; impressed by the bold talk which they hear all around, they think there must be something in it; at all events something ought to be done; and so they make concessions, perhaps with the hope of winning over the unbeliever, possibly with a desire to shield themselves from a criticism which stings them and hurts their pride. Here again Nestorius helps them; he shows them how to drop the miraculous and supernatural out of the account of Christ, so as to please the heretics, while yet holding *in petto* the opinion that God was with him, and that somehow or other He was a sort of a divine being, and had a side on which trust and adoring love may approach and take comfort. The idea of a human Christ may, it is hoped, be tolerated by the sceptics;* the divine they will not hear of

* Not for long, however. See the recent production of Robert Buchanan, who pictures Christ as the Wandering Jew, and charges Him, as the author of all our troubles, in having deceived men.

for an instant; wherefore let us, for the nonce, keep the Divine Christ carefully out of sight, and throw out the human Christ as a tub to the whale; we may not win the heretic, but at all events we shall impress him with an opinion of our moderation, good judgment, and common sense.

Ephesus is a most practical Council; the issues which it presents can no more be evaded in 1893 than in 431. Its decrees are like the Word of God, "quick and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword, discerning the thoughts and intents of the heart." When we commune with the fathers of Nicæa, our reflections carry us back into the depths of eternity, before created things existed; but at Ephesus the talk is of topics of the day, and the characters and acts of the men have a very human cast and air. The point at Nicæa was as to the honor really due to the Son of God; whether He was a created being or of one substance with the Father, and therefore from eternity. At Ephesus the question was whether there be two Christs or one; and if one, whether He was a man, or God over all blessed forevermore; whether when they looked at

with false promises, preaching to them of a Father and a heaven which do not exist, and robbing us of peace by arousing desires which never can be satisfied.

Him, they saw another man like themselves, or whether they saw God and were not consumed. That is, after all, the vital point. It is met everywhere and all the time. It involves the truth of the Incarnation, as a taking, not one individual but collective manhood into union with the Godhead. It involves the questions about sin and atonement; for if Christ was a human person, how does it comport with what we are told of the love and mercy of God, that He should have laid on that one man the awful work of our redemption and the sins of us all? Or why have we been taught to hold sin in such horror as we do, and to dread its penalty as we do, but because we believe that the Personal interposition of God Himself was required to take it away? The question discussed and settled at Ephesus involves the truth of Christianity as it has been preached for nineteen hundred years, and every present social, ethical, and economical subject in which Christianity enters as a factor. It involves the vital question of personal religion. Personal religion is the only true religion: a personal God the only true God, because the only God that can see, hear, act, to whom men can speak, whom men can love. And a personal Saviour is the desire of all who feel the need of salvation; and when we come to Christ in earnest,

and not as speculative philosophers, we must know that He is the Person whom we seek. We cannot be put off with abstractions and unrealities. It could not have been abstract humanity that was born of Mary ; it was a Child as real and true in His way as the mother was in hers. It was not on humanity in the abstract that John Baptist poured the waters of Jordan ; what Pilate condemned to die and what the soldiers nailed to the Cross was not an abstraction. Throughout it all, it was some Person who was born, and baptized, who wrought miracles, died, descended into Hades, and rose again, and went up on high. Whoever He was, that Person was our Saviour. Ephesus, practical Ephesus, tells us who it was, and confirms to Mary the title which carries the awful truth. And that is the most practical of all truths, because it is that on which the hope and trust of man are built. "Christ is made the sure foundation, and the precious Corner-stone." "Christ is God over all, blessed for evermore." To deny His Personal truth and reality at one point, is to deny it everywhere. Deny it in the womb of the Virgin, and your denial drags after it a series of denials involving His whole earthly life ; His truth and reality in the manger, in the wilderness, in the ministry, in the garden, on the Cross, in Hades,

at the Resurrection, at the Right Hand of God, in the second advent at the end of the world. Here is a cycle of truths, in which all stands or falls together. "Theotokos" is the test word, which assures to us a Divine Saviour, and defends us from a variety of Christs, a plurality of redeemers, and the dream of one man who delivered himself and his companions by growing up into the likeness of God.

We are not of those who think that the world can be made better without the help of Christ. On the contrary, we believe that it is He who has transformed the world; that faith in Him is the salt which preserves society from corruption; that the future of the race depends on the spread of His ideas, His grace, His power; that the amelioration of the condition of the poor, the drawing of men toward one another in love, the cessation of wars and civic strife, the purification of governments, and everything else for which earnest hearts do long, are to be brought about by Christ's personal presence and power in the souls and hearts of men, and not by lectures on ethics and philosophy, or scientific study, or abstract reasoning, or the influence of intellectual persons on the age. Believing as we do in this absolute and indispensable need of Christ, we must be jealous of any influence which detracts from His real-

ity or tends to cast a doubt on His identity. There are many Christs; there is only one true and Very Christ. We shall lose Him, if we lose the truth about Him; we cannot afford to think that it makes no matter who or what He was and is, or that we can have His influence, His help, His light and grace, in any other way than by having Himself. The Church has one clear, plain, straightforward doctrine concerning Him; she must insist on its necessity; she must point to the fact, that whenever that has been denied, men are at the mercy of some one or other of those pretended Christs, or anti-christs, that have gone out into the world.

The great Councils of the Church are to us a precious part of our heritage; without them the true Christ might have been lost to us long ago. In their unerring decisions, we have the answer to the everlasting, ever pressing question, "*What think ye of Christ?*" The careful study of their acts is incumbent on every member of our communion; to the neglect of that study it is no doubt due that so many are weak and sickly among us and so many sleep. The acceptance of their dogmatic decisions *ex animo*, would be the reunion of Christendom, and the cessation of the discord and unhappy divisions by which we are now afflicted and sore distressed. But though that

be, for the present, impossible, yet remember, that those dogmatic decrees, as a statement of the truth, can never be superseded, that they form a part of the basis of our Church Law, that they are the living tests of current religious opinion; and that, however current opinion may vary and change, the words of the Councils must still constrain whosoever would know the truth and keep it. Schools of thought will have their day, and cease to be; sects will persist, as they have persisted, side by side with the Church: and though condemned again and again, retain vitality, and exercise an influence. But the Catholic Church has the Divine promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her, and the faith contained in the Holy Scriptures, preached to us by Christ and His Apostles, defined by the Councils, and transmitted as a sacred deposit to us, shall still be held and taught, whatever change may come upon the world, and still be reverently received so long as there are eyes to see and ears to hear; minds to take in the mysteries revealed to us by the Spirit, and hearts to love that God who in the last days hath spoken to us in the One Undivided Person of His Only Begotten and Eternal Son.

The Council of Chalcedon.

LECTURE V.

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THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.

To one who after a quarter of a century returns to his natal city for the purpose of bringing his little basket of such fruit as he could gather in quiet study, it may be allowed to utter, first of all, his devout thanksgiving to our gracious Father, for the wonderful signs of His favorable presence and spiritual work in the midst of us. Only he whose experience is of the distant past in this city, can tell even a small part of this wonderful work; not least in it, surely, this Church Club which it is permitted to me now to address.

I. INTRODUCTION.

If we could reverse the course of the ages, and could be carried back 1442 years to the year of our Lord 451, and be set down on the shores

of the Bosphorus with our own habits, customs, and ideas, we might well be perplexed and astounded at such a synod as was assembled at Chalcedon. As Catholic Churchmen, we might be inclined to ask ourselves, "Is this a council of the Christian Church? Or, are we dreaming of a political convention, met to nominate a President of the United States, and transferred from an American city to the remote past and the suburbs of Constantinople?"

We might admire the marvellous beauty of the situation as we turned from the wooded mountains on one side to look down the gentle slope at the rippling waters of the Bosphorus and the shining domes of the great city opposite (Evagrius, i. 3). But this armed guard, keeping back the crowd of disorderly monks and a rabble of the lowest sort * (see the Empress Pulcheria's letter, Hardouin, tom. ii., Part I., c. xxxiii), those tumultuous shouts which reverberate through the great church of S. Euphemia, those passionate gestures which betray the rivalries and jealousies, the ambition and the covetousness of holy Bishops—what shall we say of these? Can the Spirit of God, can the pure, peaceable, and holy religion of the

* The synod, first summoned to Nice, was afraid of going to Chalcedon for fear of the Eutychian mob. Hardouin, loc. cit., cxxxiv.

crucified Lord, be found in such men as these? And will their decisions, if you call their "platform" by such a name, be anything more than the partisan act of a temporary majority, enjoying the emperor's favor and shouting down their rivals, or forcing them to a seeming acquiescence in what they will reverse to-morrow, if compulsion or self-interest lead or drive them?

- I present at once this side of the Council of Chalcedon, as strongly as enemies of the Catholic faith have done (see Gibbon, c. xlvii.; Milman's "Latin Christianity," Book ii., c. iv.), not with a view to an attempted apology for it, but in order that we may the more deeply feel the power of the Holy Ghost in the body of Christ, the controlling influence of that Spirit who uses even the passions and prejudices of men for His own everlasting counsels of wisdom and holiness.

Fair justice would, of course, lead us to remark that these Bishops are, with few exceptions, Orientals, untrained in the order of deliberative assemblies, such as are our own heritage for many generations. They do not know the virtues of a vote by ballot. They are impulsive and passionate by birth and habit. They have no Anglo-Saxon gift of hiding their errors and passions, whatever those may be. They are

but men; and, like the critic who exposes their imperfections, they have their share of human nature; and we must admit that there is much human nature, even in Bishops.

And it is well worthy of our notice that this synod of the Catholic Church is the only free assembly in the civilized world of its age where free discussion and voting of any kind have any place. For the invisible kingdom of God is outwardly the *Republic* of God, the one everlasting republic on the face of the earth. And this Divine republic, not any one, or any number of its rulers, is the one organ whereby the Revelation of God once given is preserved and transmitted from age to age, the organ whereby the Spirit of God gives light to receive, to apprehend, and to express, the faith once delivered to the saints. Therefore we shall be blind indeed if we look only at the signs of evil passions in this man or that. There is something deeper, truer, and greater than those, even in a political convention to-day. There are great principles beneath that stormy flood of personal rivalries and passions. Much more then, infinitely more, in a lawful synod of the whole Catholic Church, representative of the Body of Christ, of the organ of the Holy Ghost. That lives, though its members decay. The old oak survives, though many a dead

branch wait only for the storm wind to snap it off.

In this synod is something far wiser than the "Christian consciousness," as it is called by some, of the wisest there; something holier than the judgment of the holiest among those five hundred and twenty most reverend fathers. For, as the late episcopal pastoral so forcibly said, "The Church is wiser than her wisest member, holier than her holiest member." *

* Dorner (*Person of Christ*, div. ii., vol. i., 102) seems to think that the Council of Chalcedon had not canonical authority, because the Bishops exhibited so many human characteristics, so much "ungodliness in thought and act, were not unanimous in their judgment, were vacillating," etc. Milman also (*Latin Christianity*, vol. i.) presents the harshest, darkest view of the synod; "intrigue, injustice, violence, decisions by wild acclamation instead of sober inquiry," etc., etc.

But, admitting all that he says as unperverted by exaggeration, and as making due allowance for the Oriental temperament and the lack of experience in parliamentary forms, yet still is true, also, what Professor Schaff so well observes (*History of the Christian Church*, vol. i., sect. 138), "Truth, authority, and reverence, are on the side of the Œcumenical synod—and human passions, if there, will only make more conspicuous the unseen Presence of the Divine Spirit in the Body of Christ." He Who said that that Spirit would "guide into all truth," was not speaking of individual men as such. The promise is made to His own mystical Body, and that Body is to be judged by its official acts, and not by the worst acts of its worst members.

The authority of this Œcumenical synod is not for us in the Church an open question.

And here at Chalcedon is met the fullest representation of the Church of God, since the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem decided how Gentile converts should order their Christian life. The great patriarch of Rome has his legates here, taking the lead in discussion; I cannot say "presiding," a word which would mislead you, but taking the lead under the presidency of the Catholic emperor's commission, who, as we say, "take the chair," whenever they are present, and leave it vacant in their rare absence.* Of course, if all the five great patriarchs are met in full Œcumenical synod, the Bishop of Rome or his official representatives have the primacy of honor (τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς). The third canon of the second general Council, that which met at Constantinople, implies and recognizes that, in giving the Bishop of Constantinople the second place of honor.

And this primacy is very explicitly recognized by those who meet at Chalcedon, in their letter to Leo I., of Rome, in which they say (Hardouin, tom. ii., p. 655; Leonis Ep. 98, Ed. Migné), "thou indeed, in those who held thy place, didst take the lead (ἡγεμόνευες), but the believing emperors presided for the sake of good order." This is very far removed from

* See Appendix, Claims of the Roman See, 6.

the autocratic supremacy now claimed for the pope by ultramontanes. The other four Patriarchs are here at Chalcedon in person. Anatolius, of Constantinople, whose see is rapidly acquiring something more than the mere honorary position of the second see in Christendom; Dioscorus of Alexandria, here at the opening, though destined not to be here very long; Maximus of Antioch and Juvenal of Jerusalem are here; and with these all the great metropolitans of Eastern Christendom.

In place of our omnipresent reporters, many of the Bishops have their notaries. And if we may judge from their full reports of debate, those notaries must have had as useful a shorthand at their disposal as the best of our newspaper reporters.

In the centre of the church, before the altar-rails, are the imperial commissioners. In the midst of the assembly are placed the holy Gospels, the heavenly word which is to direct their judgment. This is our first view of the Œcumenical Synod of Chalcedon. And when its decrees, sanctioned by the Catholic emperors of the East and the West, have been ratified by the assent of the Church at large through the great majority of its sixteen hundred or two thousand Bishops, we shall have the surest confidence which can be had on earth, that we in-

deed possess the judgment of that Spirit Who, as the Lord said, is guiding us into all truth, and opening our hearts to understand the Holy Scriptures respecting that Lord Jesus Himself. And so we may confidently answer that greatest of all questions, What think ye of Christ? *Who is Christ? What is Christ?*

II. WHY IS THE SYNOD MET?

What brought together five hundred and twenty or six hundred and thirty Bishops, whichever the number may have been, at Chalcedon? A brief historical retrospect will introduce the answer to that question. The Church Club has already heard the story of the third Œcumenical synod which met twenty years before, at Ephesus. You will recall therefore, gentlemen, the circumstances; that there were then not a few calling themselves Christians and reciting the creed of Nice and Constantinople, who yet succeeded, as they might do to-day, if they were living to-day, in putting such a construction on that creed as directly contradicted the intention and meaning of those who first uttered it, being contrary also to the faith once for all delivered to the saints. Nestorians might profess to believe in Christ, God and Man, but they did not believe

in our one Lord and Saviour. At least, in words they denied Him. They thought that God had foreseen the holiness of the man Jesus, Son of Mary, and so had filled Him with the presence of the eternal Word and Holy Spirit. Thus the Godhead dwelt in Jesus of Nazareth, as in a holy temple. So also, in lesser degree, but after the same manner, might God dwell in us. Christ, then, was not in any proper sense the Mediator between God and man. As Mary could have conceived and given birth to only *one* person, they said that that was a human person. He that died on the cross was a suffering man, but we are not redeemed by the Blood of God's eternal Son. The Catholic Church, with unerring inspiration, perceived that in the long run, at least, such heresy must destroy all true faith in Christ. Therefore this was no question about words or nice distinctions in theology; no question of liberality against bigotry. Like the Eutychian heresy, to which we are now coming, it was a question of true loyalty to Christ and His holy and saving Gospel. The Church was created to preserve the faith. If she should let it go or let it be confounded with what truly contradicted it, she would fail of the end of her existence, and would perish. (See Schaff's History of the Church, vol. iii., p. 757.) Very active,

when the third Œcumenical synod condemned Nestorius, was a certain Eutyches, afterward archimandrite of three hundred monks at Constantinople, and the originator, or at least the prominent enunciator, of a new form of heresy. For it was still possible to recite the Catholic creed, and yet, in some other than the Nestorian way, sincerely, I do not say logically, to put such a construction on that creed as is wholly alien to the Christian faith, and in the long run, if successful, destined to extirpate that faith from our minds and hearts. This, of course can never be; but the Church felt the momentous nature of the controversy going on, not against external enemies, but within her own borders. There might be those too ill-instructed, or too "liberal," that is to say, too indifferent, to care for anything but quiet and peace. But the loyal defenders of the faith felt that in the one Christian communion contradictory answers to the question, Who and What is the Saviour of the world, must not be given. Perhaps, if we could trace the lingering life of the old pantheism,* which had fought the last fight

* See Dorner's *Person of Christ*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 81, III-113, Eng. Trans.

"The germs of pantheism," says Dorner (p. 133), who certainly will not be suspected of any want of sympathy with Monophysites, "were slumbering in Monophysitism." These heretics, then,

against the Church, and had seemed to receive its death-wound, but, "having its deadly wound healed," was still speaking with bated breath from within the Christian fold, we might be able to see the connection between the new form of heresy and the old enemy of Christendom. Not this perhaps in the case of Eutyches, who was no philosopher, and, as S. Leo thought, not much of a theologian, but in Alexandria, for example, where he found abler and more powerful defenders.

Be this as it may, Eutyches was not alone at Constantinople in denying the existence of two distinct natures in Christ our Saviour. The human nature, perhaps he thought, was lost and swallowed up at the Incarnation in the

as continuators of Eutychianism, will show us more clearly what it really meant. One noteworthy Monophysite, in 488 A.D., maintained that every creature is consubstantial with the Godhead. (This pantheist would not hesitate to confess the Homousios.) He said that in the end all things would be transformed into the Divine nature. And he discovered that S. Paul was on his side. All the ungodly were to be purified by fire, that "God may be all in all." (I. Cor. xv. 28.)

Later still, under Justinian, the pantheistic mystic, Dionysius Areop., is cited by the Monophysites in their justification. (Hefele, iii., p. 456.) Of course there was opposition to this among Monophysites themselves, because, as is usual in such cases, many were more Christian than their creed, and revolted against such pantheistic development, although their own creed implied it.

Divine nature. We may not be very certain what he meant to affirm, or how he explained to himself his own belief ; but what he denied is plain enough. He said that he unhesitatingly accepted the Creed of Nice and Constantinople, together with the decrees of Ephesus, which explained that Creed. (Hardouin, ii., p. 98, ed. Paris, 1714.) But the Creed of Nice spoke only of *one* consubstantiality, *sc.*, that of the Godhead. He said that "he stood by the Holy Scriptures alone, which he searched as the Lord told him to do, and which were surer and better than the expositions of the fathers." (Hardouin, p. 142.) But, as we perceive, he virtually denied that Christ our Saviour is very man in body, soul, and spirit, deriving His human nature (by the power of the Holy Ghost) from an earthly mother. Perhaps, if he had been more of a philosopher, he would have defended himself with the plea that all men are "a part of God ;" that human nature is divine, one nature with the Godhead ; and that, therefore, what is true of *all men*, must be true of Christ. He seems, however, to have made no such plea, but simply to have adhered firmly to his denial, even when his Bishop, Archbishop Flavian, two years before the synod of Chalcedon, called on him to explain himself before a synod of twenty-eight Bishops

at Constantinople. To-day some who call themselves liberal Christians would say, "Why not, then, leave Eutyches alone to study his Bible in his own way? Why trouble him with subtle distinctions which few can comprehend, and which have nothing to do with practical Christianity?" Ah, yes; but suppose that in the long run, not perhaps for Eutyches himself, but for the Church at large *to which he was preaching*, that very practical Christianity depends on those very distinctions. That fact would altogether alter the state of the question.* And that necessary connection between a true Christian faith and true Christian living was what the defenders of the faith had learned and so stoutly maintained. Eutyches was too public and prominent in his teachings to allow of silence and toleration. Declining to retract, he was deposed and expelled from the communion of the Church.

And so the flood-gates of controversy were opened. Eutyches found a powerful defender in the Patriarch of Alexandria. His answer to

* "If Christ were to be truly owned as the second Adam, as a true example, a true sacrifice, a sympathizing and brotherly high-priest, whose very manhood was the basis of the Church, and the medium of His brethren's renewal, the condemnation of Eutyches was an inevitable duty." (Dr. Bright's History of the Church, etc., p. 386.)

the question, "What think ye of Christ?" was also the answer of very many in the Egyptian Church, not to mention other parts of the East. If Neoplatonic pantheism survived Porphyry and lingered in Alexandria, there would be the fruitful soil for Eutychianism to flourish in, since the philosophy would offer a rational and seemingly consistent account of the doctrine. Dioscorus, then the Patriarch of Alexandria, and previously arch-deacon under the great Cyril—whom you, gentlemen, will recall in connection with the synod of Ephesus, where his part was the leading one—Dioscorus took Eutyches under his powerful patronage. How shall we explain to ourselves this strange phenomenon of the second Patriarch in Christendom supporting what is radically opposed to Christian faith? Catholic Christians, guided by the Spirit of Truth, said, without hesitation, "this Eutychianism is not the faith delivered to us to be kept whole and undefiled, as the sole means of our delivery from ruin. This is no subject for freedom of opinion; it is a question of life or death for Christianity." They did not seek to account for the heresy; they simply abhorred and rejected it. But we, in later days, may possibly find some explanation of its origin.

Revelation from God, like all our human sciences, begins with certain ultimate facts

which cannot be accounted for, or referred to a higher thought. We find them to be true, but can go no further. Thus, *e.g.*, why one body attracts another, and *how* God created the universe are equally mysterious; the latter the more so, because, as I am confident is the case, the problem simply *transcends our human faculties*, which the other may not. But both are facts; the one, attraction, known by observation; the other, revealed (and believed) as part of the faith. But reason does not *feel* its limits, and is always asking, "How shall this be?" And if a theory of emanation will seem to carry reason further back in solving the inscrutable, because transcendent mystery of creation, proud reason will not hesitate to substitute pantheistic emanation in place of that first article of simple Christian faith, that God is "Creator of all things, visible and invisible," Creator of chaos, of the first elements of all things, as well as Maker of what has proceeded from chaos through His all-powerful Word and Spirit. And so with respect to the Incarnation, which, at Nice, as you have heard, was so firmly enunciated as part of our faith. Proud reason still asked, "*How* shall this be?" as if it were not an ultimate and transcendent truth and fact; while simple faith was finding in it the one only means of salvation for lost and ruined humanity.

The Church might not understand *how* the eternal Son of God could take our human nature without taking some human person into union with Himself, becoming Man and not a man. But this defect of comprehensibility is an essential mark of a supernatural religion. What is comprehensible and comprehended must be purely human in its limits.

But *what* and *why* we believe, are other questions. *What is the truth* is a question answered for us, and faith accepts the answer. *Why* we believe is a question which rational men must ask and answer. And the answer is serviceable for our religious life, and our guidance to the beatific vision where we shall not see in a mirror darkly, but face to face.

Now in Alexandria, if anywhere, would be found the rationalistic philosophers (*cf.* Dörner, pp. 63-8) offering to explain the hidden mysteries of God. The old pantheistic emanation theory, not being altogether lost, would reappear and offer to tell how God's Son became incarnate. It would offer to show that there are not two natures of God and man, as distinct as the Creator is from the created. It would say that as there is but *one nature* in existence, *sc.*, the Divine nature, so in Christ. He was human as we are; but His humanity is an emanation from the Divine nature, for *all*

that is human is a "manifestation" of the Divine. Humanity is an emanation from God; all men are a "part of God;" Christ is this, only more perfectly and in higher degree than other men. And so pantheism would masquerade as Christian under the form of Eutychian heresy.

It is indeed very open to remark that those fierce, ignorant Egyptian monks who only six years after Chalcedon's synod murdered the next and orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, were not mystical philosophers. Nor were those ten thousand no less fierce and ignorant monks who made such terrible riots in Jerusalem and drove out the orthodox Patriarch because he would not denounce the decree of Chalcedon, mystical philosophers. But we all know that the conscious principles of the philosopher become the unconscious assumptions of the crowd. Witness the French revolution, the abolition of American slavery, the advocacy of the enfranchisement of women to-day.

But let us resume the thread of our historical sketch. Dioscorus received Eutyches to the communion of the Church. There was no infallible vicar of Christ to whom appeal could be made for an answer to the momentous question, What think ye of Christ? So the Emperor of the East, Theodosius II., was appealed

to that he might summon an Œcumenical synod. In the interest of public quiet and security he did so. All five patriarchates were represented; Rome by its legates, the others by the Patriarchs personally. But the emperor appointed Dioscorus to preside; and the Roman legates seem to have very meekly acquiesced in that. And so we come to the notorious "Robber-synod," or "Latrocinium."

This seems a harsh epithet to apply to a synod of one hundred and thirty-five right reverend bishops presided over by the second Patriarch in Christendom.* But the Catholic Church has named it so with general consent, and, as we must admit, she confesses that a

* As tending to indicate the quite indefinite relations of the Bishop of Rome to the Catholic Church at large, it seems to be worthy of notice that the emperors, in their letter of convocation (Hardouin, tom. ii., p. 78), appoint Dioscorus to preside, and Leo sends his delegates to attend without a protest. And yet this "Robber-synod," in its inception, was as Œcumenical as the first synod of Ephesus, or that which shortly after met at Chalcedon. The patriarchs all attended except Leo, who, as at Chalcedon, was represented by his delegates. Flavian, of course, as being accused, had no seat in the synod. Leo's epistle (33) to the synod refrains from any claim to the presidency.

See Hardouin, p. 79, for the emperor's letter in which the same authority in the synod is given to Dioscorus which the emperor Marcian afterwards conferred on Leo at Chalcedon (*τὴν αὐθεντίαν καὶ τὰ πρέσβεια* in the case of Dioscorus: *σοῦ αὐθεντοῦντος*, for Leo along with Juvenal of Jerusalem and Thallassius of Cesarea Cappad.). See also Leo's Epistles XXIX. and XXXI.

plentiful crop of weeds had grown up in her ploughed fields.

It is not my part to represent all the orthodox as holy saints, and all their opponents as robbers and scoundrels of all sorts. For we are only concerned with the acts of our Lord's Body, the official acts of His Catholic Church. But so much as this at least is evident that there is not now, and there never has been, any pretence that this assembly of ill-omened name was a true representative of the Church. If we could put ourselves in their place and enter into the misunderstandings which prevailed; if we should find Archbishop Flavian deprived of his seat as under grave suspicion, and Dioscorus managing everything in his own way under the emperor's powerful protection; if we should hear nothing from Leo of Rome, that great defender of the faith, because Dioscorus had suppressed the great epistle, that bulwark of Christian faith, of which we shall presently hear more; if we should see the crowd of monks and armed soldiery pressing into the assembly itself when summoned by Dioscorus; if we should hear his threats and see his violence, we might better understand the vacillations of eastern bishops (Antiochene), the fears of Egyptian prelates, the signing in blank of the paper on which afterward

appeared a decree in the name of the synod, and finally the very remarkable fact that only two years later very many retracted at Chalcedon what they had done at Ephesus, and were reconciled to the Catholic Church. *

The result, however, was that Flavian was driven from Constantinople and with such violence that he died of his injuries in a few days. The statesman's aim of peace at any price was evidently as far removed as ever. But Theodosius soon passed from human sight, and his successor, the orthodox Marcian, appeared, Marcian, whose name stands as high as any in the tediously protracted list of Byzantine sovereigns. Even Gibbon seems to check his solemn sneer when he encounters that honored name. To him, and to Pulcheria, the associated empress, Leo wrote, begging that a new synod might be called to restore the disturbed and tottering temple of the Lord.

* Leo's letter to the Emperor Theodosius (Ep. 43) is confirmed by too many witnesses to be suspected of relying on misinformation. The Latrocinium, he says, was no representative of the Church. Some orthodox Bishops were expelled from the synod. Many were deceived by ambiguous words. Others were compelled by open violence to assent to what they denied in their hearts. His own letter addressed to the synod was not permitted to be read. Will the Emperor be pleased to call a general synod of the Church to settle disputes, and to recall those who have wandered from the faith?

This was the origin of the Œcumenical synod of Chalcedon.

I have already referred to Leo's famous *Epistola Dogmatica*, addressed to Flavian, and transcribed for Dioscorus at Ephesus, who suppressed it. Never has the Catholic faith in Jesus Christ been more clearly expressed, so that the Christian may know precisely what it is that he believes, and answer with clear tones, who is the Christ, what is the Christ. The letter makes no attempt at philosophical speculations and misty explanations, which leave plain men in confusion as if they were dreaming. But Leo's energy and devotion in this great struggle for the Christian faith set him far above his contemporaries; and the full acceptance of this famous "Tome" by the synod of Chalcedon as a true statement of the meaning of the Christian creed, gives it such singular importance, that you may permit me to repeat a few of its statements for those who may not have read the whole of it.

Leo begins by saying that Eutyches' ignorance and heedlessness (*imprudens*) made him to be spiritually blind. Still he ought to have adhered to the creed which all candidates for holy baptism (*regenerandi*) and all the faithful (*universitas fidelium*) believe and confess. He ought to have humbly received the evangelical

teaching respecting the Incarnation, to wit, that the Eternal and Only-Begotten Son of the Eternal Father was "incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary."

This birth at a certain period of this world's history took nothing away from His eternal generation by the Divine Father, and added nothing to that. For we could not overcome the author of sin and death, unless He whom neither sin could stain nor death could keep a prisoner, should assume our nature and make it His own.

Thus Eutyches would have learned that the properties of both natures, both substances, remain entire and complete (*salva*) in the Lord, united in one Person, one Lord Jesus Christ. Lowliness was thus assumed by majesty, weakness by strength, mortality by eternity. One and the same Divine Person was rich in His poverty, omnipotent in His lowliness, impassable in tortures, immortal in death.

In the true and complete nature of man, true God was born, complete in His Divine attributes (*in suis*), complete in the qualities of manhood. As the form of God did not annihilate (*adimit*) the form of a servant, so the form of a servant did not impair the form of God. He assumed from His mother, nature not guilt; nor, because His nativity is miraculous, is His

nature dissimilar from ours. As the Godhead is not changed by His compassionating us, so the manhood of the Lord is not consumed by its ineffable exaltation. The one shines forth in miracles, the other submits to insults. He is proved to be God in this, that "all things were made by Him." He is proved to be man in this, that He was "made of a woman, and under the law" (Gal. iv. 4). The weakness of the child is shown by the lowliness of the cradle; the greatness of the Most High is declared by the voices of angels. To hunger, to thirst, to be weary, to sleep, is evidently human; but to feed five thousand men with five loaves, to walk on the sea, to subdue its wild waves by a word, is evidently Divine.

Each of these two forms of the one Christ does in communion with the other that which is peculiar to itself. And so, because of the oneness of the Person in two natures, what is immediately true of the one nature is asserted of the Lord as possessing the other nature (*communicatio idiomatum*). Thus we read that the Son of Man "came down from heaven" (S. John iii. 13), while we say that the Son of God took flesh of the Virgin mother, was crucified, died, and was buried (see Pearson on the Creed; "Suffered under Pontius Pilate"). And so, with much more to the same effect,

adding not one jot to the Creed, but rendering it definite and clear by expanding it, this great Catholic letter, Catholic because it only explains the faith which creeds enunciate, ends with some charitable words in behalf of poor Eutyches.

In trying not to be tedious or superfluous for those who have read S. Leo's Tome, I may have been too brief in my sketch of it. But my aim is to show that the Catholic Church in her decrees—and this letter adopted at Chalcedon is such a decree—(Hardouin, ii., Conc. Chalc., Actio 4^{ta})—gives clear expression to revealed truth, states clearly *why* the facts are made known ("for us men and for our salvation"), but never imposes on us any philosophical explanation of the facts, telling us *how* they are, what they are. Philosophy may demand how the union of God and man is accomplished (see Dorner's "Person of Christ," *passim*); but this is precisely what the Catholic Church has no authority to answer, and never does pretend to answer. Enticing to some as such speculations may be, perhaps they are precisely what transcends our human faculties.

III. WHAT THE COUNCIL DID.

The Council of Chalcedon lives in the verbatim report of its sayings and doings, which give it all the life and reality of a political or ecclesiastical convention of last year. And we may find in them, I think, just three things of very special and permanent significance, if we would learn what the Catholic Church claims to be, and what is precisely the faith which we have received from her. We may learn just what it is to say, "I believe in Jesus Christ;" or if, alas for us! we reject the faith, precisely what it is which we refuse to accept. First, since it must be decided whether the Patriarch of Alexandria, still the second see in Christendom, was entitled to take his seat along with his brethren, comes the expulsion of Dioscorus from the Catholic Church. Next comes the decree which explains the Creed respecting the Person of our Lord, and renders it impossible to pervert the meaning of *that part* of the Creed. And last come those canons by which the Church maintains not only her being, but her well-being, and so fulfils the purpose for which she is created from our Lord's humanity, and filled with His Spirit.

But as Dioscorus was not formally expelled

for being a Eutychian heretic, it will be convenient for us to consider the first and last of these three acts together, and so we shall have but two things to consider; first, the inner life of the Church as maintained by the faith, and next, her outer life in governing the people of God.

I. The Church's Faith.

No sooner was the synod opened and preliminaries in part adjusted, than, at the second session, the imperial commissioners called upon the synod to set forth a declaration of the Catholic faith, so that the erring might be brought back to the right way (Hard., ii., p. 271). The reply to that settles at once the position and aim of the Council. It was not to give expression to what is now called "Christian consciousness." It was not to lay down a "platform," as we call it in political life, a platform on which men of like mind may unite and work peaceably together. The reply of the synod was most explicit: *No one can draw up a new formulary of the faith.* That is prohibited by the decree of Ephesus which we have all received, "that no one shall bring forward, or write, or compose, any other Creed besides that which was settled by the holy fathers assembled in the city of Nice, with the Holy Ghost."

The same thing was just as explicitly asserted afterward in the fourth session. "The holy synod holds fast the rule of faith which was ratified by the fathers at Nice and by those at Constantinople. Moreover, in the second place, it acknowledges that exposition of this Creed which was given by Cyril at Ephesus. In the third place, the letter of Leo — shows quite clearly what is the true faith, and this faith the synod also holds, and allows nothing to be added to it, or taken from it."

We often hear it asserted as the mark of the true faith that it is the original deposit given to the Church by Jesus her Saviour and Lord. But it may be well to hear the same thing thus enunciated officially by the Church herself. And we notice also, two things, different but inseparably connected, viz., a *symbol* of that faith put into unchangeable words, and a *meaning* attached to that symbol which controversy develops as the only permissible meaning, like a judicial interpretation of the Constitution by the Supreme Court of these United States. This latter includes, of course, the necessary deductions from that Creed. Such explanations and deductions were contained in the letters of Cyril and Leo, and these were accepted after careful examination by the synods, and made decrees of the Catholic Church.

Chalcedon, then, *had something to do* besides repeating the Creed of Nice and Constantino-ple. That might have been sufficient if Anti-christ had not appeared in a new form within the Church, denying that the Son of God has come in our flesh (1 John iv. 3). But Anti-christ had appeared, and simple acceptance of the letter of the Creed was not sufficient.

It was not sufficient, for Eutychians professed to hold the Nicene Creed, and to stand by the decree of Ephesus, although, as heretics might do to-day, it is evident that they put a meaning upon the words which was wholly alien to the truth, and to the intention of those who set forth the symbol. No net of human words is fine enough to detain those whose arts are turned to evading words. Thus the Eutychian would repeat that the Only-begotten Son of God was "incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary; and was made man;" but then he would add such words as these: "And His human nature was swallowed up and lost in the Divine nature of eternal God." *

* Thus Eutyches presents to the Council of Ephesus (Latrocinium) the Nicene Creed as his faith (Hard., ii., p. 98). Any one who added to that, he said, was condemned by the Council of Ephesus, over which Cyril presided. And note the rejoinder of a Catholic bishop; heresy had rendered further explanations necessary (as it may do again): "For even Apollinaris received the

If such men were seducing the faithful to that which in the end would lead to unbelief in Jesus' work for us, the Church, as answerable for those committed to her care, had obligation laid upon her to protect the faith. This work respecting the Person of our adorable Lord, Chalcedon undertook, and did it so well that the lapse of ages has suggested no improvement in it. And it has been well said (Staunton's "Place of Authority," etc., p. 166), that "if the recollection of all this work (of doctrinal definition) were obliterated from the minds of Christendom, it would have to be done over again, because the questions involved (*sc.*, Who and what is the Saviour of the world), are such as must be faced, sooner or later, by an intelligent Christian faith."

Thus, *e.g.*, when the great Presbyterian communion would set forth the one truth amidst manifold errors respecting the Lord Jesus, it could find for its Westminster Catechism and longer Confession nothing better than to para-

Nicene Creed, according to his perversion of it. So the Fathers added to 'was incarnate,' those words, 'by the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,' for explanation of what had been already set forth."

Dioscorus condemned Flavian on similar grounds (Hard., tom. ii., p. 258); see also the Emperor Theodosius' decree enforcing the Latrocinium with words to the same effect, and note also the letter of the Eutychians (p. 427).

phrase, to put in slightly different words, the decree of Chalcedon.*

The Church, then, was compelled, by those who mistook the Creed, to *explain* it, not to extend the profession of our faith in Jesus Christ. This was most explicitly declared to be its object (Hard., tom. ii., p. 427). And it was done in that great decree which has fixed once for all the true meaning of the Creed of Christendom.

I would not be justified, I think, in mere allusion to the chief work which Chalcedon has done for us. Nor can I do less than recall to your notice the chief portions of its famous decree: "The holy and great and Œcumenical synod at Chalcedon has defined as follows: We have renewed the right faith of the fathers, have proclaimed to all the Creed of the three hundred and eighteen as our own (Nice), and have acknowledged the one hundred and fifty who accepted it (Constantinople). This wise

* "The only Redeemer of God's elect is the Lord Jesus Christ, Who, being the eternal Son of God, became man, and so was, and continueth to be, God and Man, in two distinct natures and one Person forever."—*Westminster Shorter Catechism*.

"Two whole, perfect, and distinct natures—the Godhead and the manhood, were inseparably joined together in one Person, without conversion, composition, or confusion: which Person is very God and Man, yet one Christ, the only Mediator between God and man."—*Westminster Confession*.

and wholesome symbol of Divine grace would indeed suffice for a complete knowledge and confirmation of religion—therefore the synod decrees that the faith of the three hundred and eighteen fathers shall remain inviolate, and that the doctrine afterward promulgated by the one hundred and fifty fathers at Constantinople, on account of those who denied (*μαχόμενους*) the Holy Ghost shall have equal validity, being put forth by them not in order to add to the Creed of Nice anything that was lacking, but in order to make known in writing their thought (*ἐννοία*) concerning the Holy Ghost, against the deniers of His glory. Following therefore the Holy Fathers we all with one accord teach the confession of one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, perfect in His Godhead and perfect in His manhood, very God and very man, of a reasonable soul and of a body; of one substance with the Father as touching the Godhead, and of one substance with us as touching the manhood; in all things like unto us, sin excepted; as touching the Godhead, begotten of the Father before all worlds; but in the last days, for us men and for our salvation, conceived of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God (*Θεοτόκος*), according to His humanity; one and the same Christ, Son, Only-begotten, confessed in two natures, without change, without

confusion (against Eutyches), indivisible, inseparable (against Nestorius) (*ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαίρετως, ἀχωρίστως*)."*

And finally, since here speaks a representative synod in the name of the inspired Body of Christ the Lord, it is decreed that "no one shall put forth, or write down, or compose, or devise, or teach a different faith; but those who dare to put together another faith, or teach and deliver another Creed, to those who wish to turn from paganism or Judaism, or from any heresy, if they are bishops or other clergy, shall be deposed; if they are monks or laymen, they shall be cut off from the communion of the Church (*ανθεματίζεσθαι*)."

This decree was signed by three hundred and fifty-five bishops,† and accepted by the Emperor as the decision of the Catholic Church, which, in fact, it has proved to be.

And just here let me ask you to observe once more what has been often said by others, that although the Church is the commonwealth of

* The decree which thus defines and explains the Creed is neither more nor less than the (so-called) Athanasian Creed, respecting the Incarnation.

† Whatever may have been the motives or misunderstandings of each one of those who, two years before, had signed the decree of the Latrocinium, there was a general retraction at Chalcedon of what had been done.

God, administering her decrees and laws in free and representative assemblies, yet she is not such a *democracy* that a simple numerical majority at any time overrules and puts down a minority. Three hundred and fifty-five bishops are a majority of Chalcedon's five hundred and twenty, but it is the fact of subsequent reception by the body of Christ throughout the world which determines for us the authority of this assembly as inspired by the Holy Ghost, and speaking in the Name of the Lord. Great synods have met where Catholics were in a minority, but the faith once for all delivered was in the hearts of that minority, and the Church by a practically unanimous consent has so decided.*

* The synod's address to the Emperor (Hard., Part III., tom. ii.) is of course a most important statement of their aims and their proceedings. It is too long to be quoted in full, but some leading points may be indicated. "The Creed indeed *suffices for the faithful, but we must oppose those who try to pervert the truth.* If all were content with the faith as already set forth, the children of the Church would be satisfied with the ancient symbol of it. But many are wandering from the right way, and it is necessary for us to point out their deviations, not adding anything new, as if the faith were defective, but enunciating the truth against those innovators. Thus, at Nice they only said, 'We believe in the Holy Ghost;' and that set forth the faith. But for its defence it was afterward necessary to add, 'the Lord God proceeding from the Father.' So with respect to the Incarnation. The Creed said, 'He descended, and was incarnate, and was made

II. *The Church's Law.*

But the Church has a *law*, as well as a faith. Without that law she would be nothing more than one religious party among many. So we come to that with which the synod opened, viz., the matter of Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, second bishop in Christendom. This one case seems to decide, so far as Chalcedon is concerned, one of the great questions which the Church Club has proposed for its study, *sc.*, the character and constitution of the Catholic Church. For here is not a voluntary association of men of similar convictions and preferences, withdrawing from association with one of another mind, "reading him out of the party." No; as distinctly as any civil government, making its own laws, enforces obedience

man.' But these clear statements of the faith were misconstrued, through the adversary of all truth, by Nestorius. Therefore our fathers set forth the same faith more clearly, 'And was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary.' So speak Basil the Great, Damasus of Rome, and those who met at Sardica, Constantinople, and Ephesus.

"Let none then find fault with us for putting forth the letter of the wonderful Bishop of Rome [not recognized as an infallible judge] as a novelty, but let them refute it, if it be not in agreement with the Holy Scriptures, and the fathers of the Church, and the Nicene faith."

to those laws by suitable penalties, and cannot otherwise exist as an organized society, so distinctly is Dioscorus cut off from the Church, the kingdom of heaven, not, explicitly, because his principles are incompatible with those of the majority, but because he has violated the fundamental constitution and authority of the Divine commonwealth in which he holds high office, and persists in his rebellion against it. I will quote the very words of the decree (Hard., ii., 378), "The holy and great and Œcumenical synod to Dioscorus: On account of thy contempt of the sacred canons, and thy disobedience to the synod, inasmuch as, besides thy other offences, thou didst not appear, even when summoned the third time according to the sacred canons, know then that thou hast been deposed from thy bishopric by the holy and universal synod, and deprived of all spiritual functions." Here is a formal deposition by Divine authority. Behind it lies the ground of action, *sc.*, that by refusing to appear he justified or pleaded guilty to his pretended deposition of S. Flavian of Constantinople, his own receiving to communion the excommunicated heretic Eutyches, his excommunicating S. Leo of Rome, his suppression of Leo's letter to the Latrocinium, and the charges of violence, robbery, and the like, which came from Alexandria.

The last work of the synod of Chalcedon was the enacting of laws for the well-being of the kingdom of God. And, again, as in the matter of Dioscorus, the Catholic Church claims to be an organized kingdom in this world, and not merely an ideal society, a collection of religious sentiments in which men of like minds unite. This Œcumenical synod claims the right to legislate for all Christian people in the name of God; right, as complete and full as that of the Roman empire or any human commonwealth whatsoever, to demand outward obedience; and the right, as Divine, to require *inward* submission as part of our duty to God as well as to man; the authority, finally, which no merely ideal society possesses, to exercise spiritual discipline, which God binds in heaven, even, in the extreme case of Dioscorus, to expel from the kingdom of God on earth.

Let me not be misunderstood. The kingdom of God is, indeed, "*within us*," because of the unhesitating submission which a loving will renders to the Father of us all. But the kingdom of God is also *above us*, and outside of us, because our will is surrendered to God Who is above us, and without us, as well as within us.

I mean that God has His representatives, His agents, His earthly means for our redemption. And loving acceptance of these is loving

submission to Him. To speak of bowing to none but God is true, if we have in mind our *motive*; it is false if we are speaking of the visible kingdom of God, in which He places His authority, His means for our redemption. In that kingdom, he who bows to none but God is only a lawless rebel against His Almighty Father.

Examples of these twenty-eight canons will confirm what has been said of them. First, previous canons, the common law of the Church of all ages, were re-enacted. Next, special evils demanded special laws. If bishops or other clergy should buy or sell sacred offices they must be deposed. Laymen convicted of that great sin of simony must be excommunicated. Clergy must not engage in worldly business for money-making. They must not serve in military affairs. They must not go to law with one another, but must lay their case before the bishop, or arbitrators under his advice.

If bishops were free within their own jurisdiction (canon 17) yet they were bound by the common law and custom of their province; but an appeal from the metropolitan to a wider synod of the Church was provided, and whenever a General Council should meet, an appeal to that body was open (which Luther used at Wittenberg, November 28, 1518). Chalcedon it-

self gives us examples of such appeals, all based on the final authority of the supreme court of the Christian commonwealth on earth.

Finally there remains the 28th canon of Chalcedon,* against which Leo of Rome made such energetic protest. See how this supreme legislature proceeds in ordering the kingdom of God. "As in all things we follow the ordinances of the holy fathers, and know the recently read canon of the one hundred and fifty bishops [the Second Œcumenical Synod, that at Constantinople, whose third canon gives the primacy of honor (*τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς*), after the Bishop of Rome to him of Constantinople], so do we decree the same in regard to the *privileges* of the most holy Church of Constantinople. Rightly have the fathers conceded to the see of old Rome its privileges on account of its character as the imperial city, and moved by the same considerations the one hundred and fifty bishops awarded equal prerogatives (*τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεία*) to the most holy city of new Rome," etc.† It seems to me that both the

* Dr. Bright's Notes on the Canons of the First Four General Councils, 1882, may be consulted for a condensed but clear history and explanation of this canon.

† The 9th and 17th canons, against which Leo entered no protest, make the Patriarch of Constantinople the ultimate court of appeal, at least for the Eastern Church, without any reference whatever to a higher court at Rome. This should be compared

canon and the protest against it are equally strong against the modern ultramontane claim that the Bishop of Rome is supreme over the whole Church, putting down and setting up, *e.g.*, here in the United States.

1. For first, this Œcumenical synod, despite Leo's protest, claims and exercises that jurisdiction. It is certainly true, as Leo said, that it was not civil dignity, but apostolical origin, which gave recognized precedence and influence in the Church. Thus Canterbury outranks London to-day for similar reasons. But nevertheless the synod assigns the reason which had weight with it in a matter where it claims the right to decide.

2. And in the next place, the absence of any reference to a supremacy at Rome, which, if it existed, would overrule everything else, is equivalent to a denial of any such supremacy. In fact, after all the complimentary words which were addressed to the great patriarch of the West, the Churches of Eastern Christendom simply ignored his protests against their action, and carried into execution this famous 28th canon of Chalcedon. If actions speak

with the fashion very natural at that day, of making an appeal to the Bishop of Rome, a fashion illustrated at Chalcedon by certain persons from Alexandria who appeared in the synod with an appeal to it and to Leo against the violence of Dioscorus.

louder than words, there could not possibly be a more explicit denial of any claims to supremacy which might be beginning to be heard from Rome.

3. Now let us consider Leo's protests, which I will not weary you by reading. But does even he claim an ultramontane supremacy? *No such thing*; the times were not ripe for that. Such a monstrous usurpation within the Catholic Church was necessarily the growth of centuries. And the great Leo was not an Innocent III. nor a Gregory VII. Leo objects, first, to the *grounds* on which the decision of the synod rests, *sc.*, the preponderance of the imperial metropolis, the civil rank of Constantinople. Leo says, and very properly, that the ground of rank in the Church is the apostolical origin of the see. And what then? Antioch was founded by S. Peter; Alexandria is the see of S. Mark, S. Peter's disciple; Anatolius of Constantinople, says S. Leo, must be satisfied with being Bishop of the Imperial city; he cannot make it an apostolical see. S. Leo, no doubt, had a strong point of objection there. Again, he refuses his consent to the canon because it contravenes, as he thinks, the 6th canon of Nice. The fathers of Chalcedon might have replied to that, that they had no such intention whatever; that they only met new conditions

with new regulations, in matters which were not Divinely settled to remain unchanged until the world's end. S. Leo was a very Bourbon of a conservative, just then. He asserted that these external regulations of Church order were settled at Nice by such an inspiration that they must endure as long as time shall last. Without reply, however, the Eastern Church simply went on to settle her own affairs in her own way. And in the course of time, Rome had to give up, and yield the disputed point.

This question of the rank of Constantinople in the Catholic Church, and that other question of the primacy of old Rome, do not concern us as practical matters to-day. Rome to-day makes wholly different claims, and Anglican Catholics may see most plainly that at Chalcedon, where the whole Church was represented 400 years after the Lord's Resurrection, there was no *claim*, much less was there any *recognition*, of a Supreme Vicar of Christ on earth, whom all Christians must obey in Christ's stead, because all authority and jurisdiction in the Church are derived from Him, and his official utterances are independent of any consent of the Catholic Church.*

* Leo of Rome certainly claimed, and the synod of Chalcedon in words at least, admitted a presidency of the See of S. Peter over the whole Church, but a presidency of very undefined limits,

IV. WHAT HAS CHALCEDON DONE FOR US?

I. It is time to bring to a close a lecture which is all too brief for the great subject assigned to it. Let us inquire, even though the answer involves some repetition of what I have said, *what Chalcedon has done for us all*, for all ages of the Catholic Church. But I must first anticipate a cavil, which is not likely to come from you, gentlemen, but which we are only too likely to hear in what is called the "religious world," *sc.*, that disputatious Christians of the East and in a very corrupted Church, were engaged in needless disputations and over-subtle controversies about minute or inscrutable questions, instead of being zealous for what is called "simple faith in Jesus Christ." I think we have seen that the Church was not adding to the faith, was not making subtle distinctions which involved no fundamental difference. Nor was she arbitrarily drawing up a

limits so undefined that conflict was sure to arise such as only charity could appease. Such a presidency over the wide-spread colonial churches of the Anglican communion, and still more over bishops among the heathen, is exercised and admitted with respect to the See of Canterbury. But such a presidency is fundamentally different from that autocracy which is claimed as Divine, and imposed as such upon the whole Roman Communion to-day. (See Appendix, "Claims of the Roman See.")

new confession of the faith which all had, in order to refine more minutely upon it, and to fix more narrowly the boundary fences of the Christian fold.*

But when the nature of her Divine Lord, the very ground of our faith in Him, because it is the ground of His Work for us, and our way of approach to God through Him, when this was ignorantly or perversely misrepresented, it became the Church's first duty to her unseen head, it was the very condition of her continued life in this world, that she should, at any cost, testify to the truth which she had always been teaching.†

* It was the Eutychians who took the position of "advanced liberals." See the petition of their monks to the emperor (Hefele, p. 335). "Everything is in confusion through self-seeking and the lack of brotherly love—Jews and heathen have peace, but Christians are in conflict with one another—The emperors ought to prevent the outbreak of a schism—all disturbances should cease, particularly the *enforcement of subscriptions* and persecutions, etc."

† For a fuller understanding of what Chalcedon has done for us in this respect, one may make a careful study of Art. IV. in "Pearson on the Creed," "Suffered under Pontius Pilate." Eutychianism denied also, at least implicitly, the true resurrection and restoration of men, the coming again of the Son of Man to judge the quick and the dead. S. Leo, with his clear insight and practical sagacity respecting the meaning and results of what might seem to many obscure or indifferent, again and again insists on this. See the 35th Ep., to Bishop Julian; and again, in Ep. 59, to the clergy and people of Constantinople, he writes: "They

If the creed of Nice and Constantinople were perverted contrary to her intention as it was perverted then,* and, I will add, as it is perverted to-day, the Catholic Church, like the Supreme Court of these United States in another sphere, must define the meaning of that creed more strictly, and more fully express the meaning of those who first enunciated it.

This, then, is the great and permanent work of Chalcedon, to enable every well-taught Christian child to say what he means when he declares his belief in Jesus Christ our Lord, and to perfect an unassailable bulwark against mul-

who deny that Christ has the nature of our human flesh, both contradict the Gospel and deny the Creed. They do not stand fast in the truth of our Lord's Passion, nor of His Resurrection. For both of these are made void (*vacuatur*), if we do not believe that He possesses the flesh of our humanity. . . . Consider again, the Holy Eucharist. In that mystical distribution of spiritual nourishment, this is given, this is received; that receiving the virtue of the bread from heaven, we may be converted (*transeamus*), into the flesh of Him Who was made of our flesh. . . . Consider, also, the sacrament of Holy Baptism, the condition of our new nature, wherein is laid aside not the garment of true flesh, but the old corruption, that we may be made the Body of Christ" (wherein I was made a member of Christ, etc.), "because Christ also possesses a human Body."

* See Eutyches' letter to S. Leo, after his excommunication (Ep. xxi., Leonis Epist.), in which he professes to believe the creed of Nice and Constantinople, and accepts the decree of Ephesus (against Nestorius), and yet we know that he radically denied the work of Christ for our salvation.

titudinous attacks on the Person of that adorable Saviour.*

II. There is an opposite mistake respecting the work of the synod, which seems to require a word because it has a sound of great liberality. Admitting that nothing was *added* as essential to the faith, granting that no new articles were required to be believed by every Christian man, did the Chalcedonian decree "establish the Nicene Creed as the sole and *sufficient* exposition of the Christian faith?" Did it so settle every point of faith, that nothing further need be done until the world's end? *Precisely the contrary.* That Chalcedonian decree, like the Athanasian Creed, so called, which traverses the same ground, interprets more clearly the meaning of a *certain part*, and *only* a certain part of the Nicene Creed, prevents possible mistake respecting that part, the part which concerns our Lord Himself, and corrects actually existing misapprehension. This needed to be done, and it was done. It is precisely what would equally be needed to-day, respecting the latter part of that creed, if the whole Catholic Church could once more meet in synod, or if the Lambeth invitation to

* See Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, V. LIV. 10 ; quoted in Church Club Lectures for 1891, p. 13.

unity were seriously considered and approved by our separated Christian brethren.

III. And if, in the next place, any one misunderstand, or appreciate only in part, the grounds on which our faith rests, and suggest that our creed is the expression only of what is called "Christian consciousness," or that it is the agreement of a numerical majority of Christians upon what they understand the Holy Scriptures to mean, and upon what the truth is, we are now able to answer: Yes; this perhaps; but *something more*; something more fundamental than any inward convictions of one or many. Chalcedon's decree truly represents the inspired judgment of the Body of Christ, of the enduring organ of the Holy Ghost, the possessor of the promised Comforter Who guides into all truth. That authoritative voice does not come down to us faintly from a remote antiquity. It is speaking to-day. Greek Catholic, Roman Catholic, Anglican Catholic, will with one voice answer the question, What think ye of Christ? and the great evangelical Protestant bodies will echo the answer saying: "He is all that man is, all that God is, one Christ: truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly, one Christ, in those two natures."

This is what Chalcedon has done for us.

IV. And lastly, Chalcedon, with this year's course of lectures in general, is, I think, throwing some light upon the first aim of your efforts, gentlemen, as stated five years ago, *sc.*, to maintain that the Christian faith is a truth, positive, and independent of our fluctuating opinions; that Christian institutions exist, and have their inestimable value, I will not say altogether, but very largely, for the preservation and propagation of that faith, which faith expresses the means adopted by a God of love and mercy for our rescue from sin and misery, since "there is none other Name under heaven given among men, whereby we can be saved," but only that Name whose meaning we have learned to know. *True Christian union is a union in that one faith.* For if hesitating or uncertain answer be given to the question, "Who is Christ," the inward faith is uncertain or hesitating, and so no unity of faith is possible. If false answer be given, He is not found who says that He is "the Way, and the Truth, and the Life," although He may find those who have failed to find Him. And union, without *unity* of one faith, is the union of a Babel of sects, whose distracted and distracting voices fill the ear, but confuse the soul. Such is not the unity of the heavenly Jerusalem, where from many voices in all earth's varied tongues, ascends one Gloria in Excelsis,

to God, and to the Lamb Who is in the midst of the throne of God.

This union lies deeper than that of a creed. Creeds are but *symbols*, whose meaning, as we have seen, is perverted by heretical perversity. Higher and deeper than symbols, in the life of the Church the very life itself, is the Spirit of God, making men to be of one mind in God's house, not only through charity, but through common faith respecting what they mean when they utter the creed.

And if this has been done at Ephesus and Chalcedon, for the great question of the Lord's Person, it still remains to be done, as I have intimated, respecting the latter part of the same creed, *sc.*, the Holy Ghost who spake by the prophets, the one, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, the one baptism for the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.

We may not doubt what would be the decision of a united council of the whole Catholic Church, if it should please God to give us such a synod. But what security it would give to fluctuating faith! And what a call it would give to the wanderers who "are dispersed abroad to return, and with us be saved through Christ forever!"

But, meanwhile, we, for our own part, can

only cling with fixed purpose of heart to what we know that they intended who gave us those last articles of our creed, and, in trying to make them a reality for ourselves, commend them to those who have lost their meaning, even if they accept the words.

For it is the unity of faith, and hope, and love, for which we pray with undoubting trust in God's willingness to grant it. And union, I repeat it, is not unity. The winds of change-ful emotion, the storms proceeding from the world's restless sea, may sweep along the shores of that solid land where the Church of God is building, and those winds may pile up the sand-hills in disconnected heaps of disunited atoms. But the breezes from another quarter will presently scatter them, and pile them up again in other heaps. They can never be the solid rock on which the Church of God is slowly rising up in everlasting stateliness.

Those sand-hills also, in their disconnected and change-ful union, can never be the fertile soil out of which shall grow the glorious tree whose branches spread far and wide their refreshing shade and bear fruit for the healing of the nations. For the life of that tree is the Spirit of God, and the sign of that life is *unity* not *union* of its leafy boughs. The unity, I mean, of *faith* as well as of a creed and symbol

of the faith ; one love, one hope, one faith, in every living leaf of that mystic tree, because one life-giving Spirit is in each and in all.

COLLECT. Grant, we beseech Thee, O Lord our God, that we may apprehend both parts of the one mystery of Thy Son's Incarnation, and adore one Christ very God and very Man, neither divided from our nature, nor separated from Thine Essence ; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord Who liveth and reigneth with Thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God for ever and ever. Amen.

APPENDIX.

THE ROMAN SEE AND THE SYNOD OF CHALCEDON.

IF, with Dr. Bright (History of the Church, A.D. 313-451, p. 374), we distinguish three stages in the development of the papal claims, we shall find, first, the primacy (*τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς*), a position of honor and influence, like that of an elder brother in a well-ordered family, a station for the Bishop of Rome which no well-instructed Christian would dispute, and which is manifestly his from the apostolic age. Later, we find the supremacy claimed, *sc.*, that by Divine right the assent of the Bishop of Rome is requisite to give binding authority to any decree respecting faith or discipline in the Catholic Church, or any part thereof. This is what Leo seems to claim in the age of Chalcedon, and which the conditions of the age did so much to promote. It is needless to add that the Council of Chalcedon recognized no such claim. In fact, we have seen that the synod proceeded to enact its decree respecting most fundamental questions of order and discipline in the Eastern patriarchates, despite the protest and withdrawal of the papal legates, with no other dissentient voice, and that that action was never formally retracted. If the supremacy existed—which was not the case—this action would have been a revolt against it of all parts of the Church except the great patriarchate of the West.

Lastly, the final step of papal development is an autocracy, like that of a czar, or an absolute emperor, which is formu-

lated by the Vatican decree of 1870,* making the pope sole legislator, judge, and executive in the Roman Church, so far that he is the source of all authority in these three essential parts of government in the kingdom of God. His decree, in either of these three relations, independently of any assent on the part of the Church, is absolutely irreformable, because infallible.†

Infallibility in faith and morals is of course essential to such a claim.

A careful comparison of the proceedings at Chalcedon with the letters of Leo and other documents connected with the council, will, I think, convince every candid person that no such autocracy was claimed, much less recognized, by any one in the age of Chalcedon.

For the inspection of those who have not the leisure to examine for themselves, I have collected, as impartially as I am able, the principal passages connected with this subject.

* "If, then, any shall say that the Roman pontiff has the office merely of inspection or direction [which Leo claimed], but not full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the universal Church, not only in things which belong to faith and morals, but also in those which relate to the government and discipline of the Church spread throughout the world, or assert that he possesses only the chief part and not the entire fulness of the supreme power: let him be anathema." (3d Vatican decree on the constitution of the Church.)

† "We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed that the Roman pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra* . . . is possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine concerning faith or morals; and that therefore, such definitions of the Roman pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church." (4th Vatican decree.)

Hastily as it is done, I have not chanced to find the same elsewhere undertaken,

1. In A.D. 381, the third canon of the Œcumenical synod at Constantinople gives the "primacy of honor" (not of authority) to the Bishop of Constantinople after the Bishop of Rome, "because that Constantinople is New Rome." This canon was recognized as binding in the Eastern patriarchates, though it never received the assent of the Bishop of Rome. So it is plain that either there was no papal supremacy known, or else it was openly defied. Leo's 105th and 106th Epistles show us how the matter stood in his estimation. To the Empress Pulcheria he writes: "In order that the decrees of the venerable fathers [of Nice] may be annulled (*solvantur*), the consent of certain bishops [the second Œcumenical synod], is produced, to which subsequent years have given no effect." That is, the canon had been ignored in the Western Church. More than that could not be truthfully asserted. Leo did not mean that the canon had not been carried into execution.

Similarly he writes to Anatolius, rebuking his ambition, that "this enactment of certain bishops sixty years before was never transmitted by your predecessors to the [official] knowledge of the apostolic see." Leo claims supremacy; but it had no official recognition outside of his own patriarchate.

2. What Leo claimed for Rome is clearly intimated in his first letter to S. Flavian (Ep. XXIII.). "For both the administration (*διοίκησις*) of the Church and the emperor's faith impose on us great anxiety for the peace of Christendom, in order that, dissensions being removed, the Catholic faith may be guarded, and the wanderers recovered and strengthened by our authority." It was his duty, he said, to see "that the decrees of the venerable fathers respecting the faith were not violated by any evil mis-interpretation."

S. Leo evidently regards himself as, *ex officio*, "Defender of the Faith." But Flavian's reply (Hard. t. ii., p. 4) asking the Bishop of Rome's aid respecting Eutyches, recognizes no supremacy. He understands that Eutyches has been writing that he made an appeal to Rome. "Moved therefore along with us on account of all these things that have been done and are still doing toward us and against the peace of the Church, act boldly, as you are accustomed to do, and as becomes the priestly office. Making the common cause your own, give your vote along with us (*συμψηφίσασθαι*) for the condemnation canonically passed against him, and strengthen the faith of the emperor, etc." So writes Flavian, evidently not addressing a supreme ruler of all Christendom. A second letter of Flavian (Hard., p. 10), is couched in the same spirit: "We transmit a lengthened statement in order that your holiness, knowing the whole matter, may inform all the bishops under you [the Western patriarchate] of his impiety, lest any ignorantly communicate with him as if he were orthodox."

3. In A.D. 449, the Emperor Theodosius II. summoned an Œcumenical synod to meet at Ephesus, and appointed Dioscorus to preside with the same authority as was exercised or claimed at Chalcedon by Leo's representatives (*τῶν ἀντιπρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*). All the Eastern patriarchates came as summoned, and Leo was represented by delegates. Those delegates might, silently, by their action protest against the emperor's decree, but there was no difficulty regarding the presidency of this Œcumenical synod raised on the part of the East. That is, once more, the supremacy was either non-existent, or openly rejected.

4. In the first session of the synod at Chalcedon, when the proceedings of the "endemic" synod at Constantinople under Anatolius were read, it appeared that at the condemnation of Eutyches (Hard., p. 142), he said privately that he ap-

pealed to a council at Rome, adding, "and to Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Thessalonica." See also his letter to Leo (Leonis Epist., XXI.): "I requested that those things might be made known to your holiness, and that you might judge what seemed good to you, declaring that in every way I would follow what you might approve."

5. In A.D. 451, the Emperor Marcian summoned an Œcumenical synod to meet at Nice (changed to Chalcedon), respecting which Leo wrote (Ep. LXXXIX.): "We thought that your clemency would have been able to comply with our desire, that, in consideration of the present need, you would order the synod to be deferred to a more convenient season, etc." Leo will send delegates; but it is plain that the Catholic and orthodox emperor does not recognize a supremacy in the Bishop of Rome; or else treats it with great disrespect.

6. According to our use of the term, the imperial commissioners and the senators "presided" at Chalcedon, "taking the chair," preserving due order, collecting suffrages, and announcing decisions. But the papal legates certainly took the lead among the delegates, with a "primacy of honor," as Canterbury might do to-day in a Lambeth synod. The third meeting of the synod is specially worthy of notice in this respect, because the commissioners were absent. The archdeacon of Constantinople announces the business which is to come before the synod, and it is taken up in a sort of "cabinet meeting" when the president is absent. That is, the Roman legates, as a sort of secretary of state or "prime minister," take the lead in giving orders. But they are followed in a similar fashion by Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Stephen of Ephesus, etc., each in turn giving directions for the successive items of business, as if there were a general equality. When Dioscorus's sentence is to be pronounced, the Roman legates

speak it in the name of Leo and Peter as well as of the synod, but there is no recognition whatever on the part of others of the need of any special sanction from Rome. Anatolius (Hardouin, p. 346) follows the legates with the brief judgment, "I agree with the apostolic throne, and vote with it (*σύνψηφος*) for the deposition of Dioscorus, because he has violated the canons." Next, Maximus of Antioch, "assents to the sentence of the two, Rome and Constantinople," giving no superiority to one over the other. And so with the rest. In the subscriptions to the decree of deposition the Roman does not differ from the others; and the decree is issued in the name of the synod without any special mention of Leo. And when the degradation of Dioscorus is communicated to the emperor and to the empress, there is an equally significant absence of any reference to Rome. It is the synod which has made the decree for violation of the canons and, by his refusing to answer, an implicit confession of offences charged.

7. At the second session (Hard., p. 290), after the creeds of Nice and Constantinople had been read under direction of the imperial commission, two letters of Cyril were also read, which were followed by Leo's Tome. At the reading of the latter the bishops exclaimed, "This is the faith of the fathers; the faith of the apostles. Peter has spoken by Leo. Cyril taught this," etc. They evidently regarded the see of Rome as apostolic through S. Peter.

But if an infallible judge was speaking in the Tome, they were egregiously in the wrong in what followed. For the bishops of Illyricum and Palestine doubted the soundness of certain expressions of Leo,* and Cyril was read again to jus-

* The bishops of Palestine were evidently unconscious of any infallibility in Leo; for they declared in writing (Hard., p. 402), "We all hold fast by the faith of the three hundred and eighteen

tify those questionable phrases. The imperial commission also appointed four days' delay in the matter, and a private conference for the settlement of doubts.

Accordingly, at the fourth session, they open with the words, "Let the bishops now state their faith." And Anatolius first replies, "The epistle of Leo agrees with the creeds of Nice and Constantinople, and with what was done at Ephesus [third Œc. synod], under Cyril, therefore I have consented and subscribed to it." Then follow Leo's legates, Maximus of Antioch, etc., etc. There is no recognition of any special authority possessed by Leo's Tome over the letters of Cyril or other accepted statements of the Catholic faith.*

8. The official letter of the synod to the Emperor Marcian, briefly paraphrased, will be found in Note on p. 211.

9. Now let us take the very significant epistle in which the synod communicates its decrees to the great Patriarch of the

fathers of Nice and of the one hundred and fifty of Constantinople, and agree with the decrees of Ephesus. When the letter of Leo was read to us we gave our assent to the greatest part of its contents. But some parts of it seemed to us to express a certain separation of the Divine and human in Christ, and we therefore hesitated to accept them. We learnt, however, from the Roman legates that neither do they admit any such separation, but confess one and the same Lord and Son of God. We have therefore assented and subscribed Leo's letter. It would be well, however, if the legates would now, for the good of the world, publicly repeat that explanation."

* Compare with this the words used at the second session (Hard., p. 274, Imp. Com.), "Let the patriarchs, with one or two of their brother bishops, retire and prepare a profession of the faith." The bishops replied, "We are forbidden to draw up any writings, and we need none. We have the creeds, confirmed and explained by the writings of S. Athanasius, Cyril, Basil, Gregory, and now again by Leo." One of these has no more authority than another.

West. (Hard., p. 655 ; Leonis Epist., XCVIII.) After warm commendation of his "Tome," which was like the voice of S. Peter to them, they continued : "Thou indeed, in the person of thy representatives, didst lead the way (*ἡγεμόνευες*), but the faithful emperors, for the sake of good order, directed us (*εἰξήρχον*). . . ." Speaking of Dioscorus, the synod professed to recognize a supervision of the Church Divinely intrusted to Leo. "He [Dioscorus] extended his madness even against thee to whom the guardianship (*τὴν φυλάκην*) of the vine has been intrusted by the Saviour."

This expression might mean very much or very little. Their proceedings are the best comment on it. And, after all, it is they, the Œcumenical synod, who have set forth the Catholic faith. "For if, where two or three are gathered in His name, He is in the midst of them, how much rather did He make his own the work of five hundred and twenty priests, who set forth the true faith in Him." "These are the things which, with Thee present in spirit and of one mind with us, we have accomplished."

Then the synod proceeds to what could not please the great patriarch so well. They have established by decree the prevailing custom respecting the rank and privileges of the see of Constantinople. They have "confirmed also the canon made by the holy fathers at Constantinople under Theodosius [2d Œc. synod], that Constantinople has prerogatives [not of honor now, but of authority, *τὰ πρεσβεῖα*], after your most holy and apostolic throne." To this are added some indefinite compliments, to make the disagreeable decision more palatable. "We were persuaded that, since you are habitually anxious for the good of the Church, and the beams of your apostolic rays spread abroad even to the Church at Constantinople, and without envy you share your goods among the family," you would add your approval to our decree.

S. Leo seems to have thought that "fine words butter no parsnips." Although the emperor gave his approval, and the 28th canon stood as the decision of the Œcumenical synod, and ruled from that day on, Leo and his successors refused their assent to it. Evidently, if Rome's assent was necessary, it was not valid. Treating it as valid was denying the supremacy of Rome.

Anatolius, successor of the saintly Flavian at Constantinople, was a weak bishop, not wholly free from suspicion of complicity with heresy, and standing in considerable awe of his elder brother. He wrote (Leonis Ep., CI.) asking Leo to ratify what had been done.

10. Leo was not the man to yield one inch off of what he thought to be his rightful claims. If those claims had been those of the Vatican in 1870, we would find them in his letters, without reservation or mincing of them. But there is no such thing. Ep. CIV. to the emperor is his protest against what he calls the ambition of Anatolius, a vice from which, like many another, he of Constantinople may not have been wholly free, but which does not affect the question now before us. "By no suffrages could he be assisted against what is due to the canons of the fathers, the statutes of the Holy Ghost, the precedents of antiquity." Very conservative, as usual, is that; but new conditions might be calling for new decrees. "With the aid of your piety and my zealous approval (*συγκαίνεσις*), he got the episcopate of so great a city, but he cannot transform an imperial city into an apostolic throne." True enough and very much to the purpose, if nothing else were to be considered besides the apostolic origin of churches, like Antioch and Alexandria. "For the privileges of churches established by the canons of the holy fathers [not conferred by Christ's sole vicar] and the decrees of the venerable Nicene synod, . . . cannot be altered for any novelty. . . . I must exhibit continual zeal in this mat-

ter, since a dispensation (διοίκησις) has been intrusted to me, and it will be my fault if I connive at the violation of canons made for the conduct of the whole Church." He does not define his "dispensation;" but it might be inferred that it was a primacy whose duty was to see that laws were obeyed. No doubt he claimed more than that.

11. The letter to the Empress Pulcheria (CV.) is similar, but perhaps more definite. "The assents of bishops which are repugnant to the holy canons made at Nice, we, your pious faith being joined with us, declare to be void (*mittimus in irritum*), and by the authority of blessed Peter we pronounce them altogether null (*generali consequentes definiti-one prorsus cassamus*), in all ecclesiastical causes following (*obsequentes*) those laws which the Holy Ghost by the three hundred and eighteen bishops [at Nice] established for the orderly guidance of all the clergy."

12. Epistle CVI. rebukes Anatolius on similar grounds, not for interfering with the autocracy of Rome, but for ordaining the Bishop of Antioch in contravention of the Nicene canon. "Let not the see of Alexandria lose the dignity which it merits through S. Mark the evangelist, the disciple of S. Peter, and let not Antioch, in which the apostle first preached the gospel, lose the third place. . . . Those holy and venerable fathers at Nice . . . established the laws of the Church to abide until the world's end [a very conservative Roman thought], and they live with us and throughout the world in their decrees. And if anywhere anything is presumptuously done otherwise than as they decreed, it is declared null and void (*cassatur*). . . . No matter how much greater the number of assembled bishops [at Chalcedon], let them not presume to compare themselves with those three hundred and eighteen, for whether they be few or many their judgments have no authority if different from those of Nice."

13. Epistle CXIV. is a circular letter addressed, in com-

pliance with the emperor's injunction, to the bishops of the synod, in which S. Leo signifies his assent to the doctrinal decree. The synod, he said, was summoned respecting the faith alone, by the command (*προστάγμα*) of the emperors and with the approbation (*συναίνεσις*) of the apostolic see. On this critical occasion Leo makes no autocratic claim, and the Vatican of to-day might find him a "mere Gallican." "I remind you, most honored brethren, of the duty of guarding the canons of the holy fathers, which, by unalterable decree were set forth at Nice. . . . An ambitious bishop thinks to establish his private attempts in the name of the synod, but powerless and void will be whatever opposes the aforesaid canons. How reverently the apostolic throne uses them you may learn from my letters to the Bishop of Constantinople, and that with the help of God, I am a guardian of the fathers' faith and of the Catholic canons."

14. Epistle CXV. to the Emperor Marcian does not even hint at autocracy. . . . After the synod's work, so largely due to the emperor, in destroying the main sources of heresy, the remains of it will be best obliterated if all the churches understand that the decrees of the synod are accepted (*ἀρέσκει*) also by the apostolic see. "Accordingly, I have cheerfully added my opinion (*γνώμη*) to the decree which confirms the Catholic faith."

15. The illustrious Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, had been deposed by the Latrocinium. His appeal to Leo is numbered LII. in Leo's letters. Was this an appeal to a supreme ruler in Christendom? Roman writers themselves are not sure of that. And Theodoret's words speak for themselves: "If Paul, the preacher of the truth, the trumpet of the Holy Ghost, betook himself to S. Peter in order that he might obtain from him an answer for those at Antioch, etc. (Acts xv. 2), much rather should I resort to the apostolic see to receive from you a remedy for the wounds of the Church.

For the primacy belongs to you for every reason (*Διὰ πάντα γὰρ ὑμῶν τὸ πρωτεύειν ἀρμόττει*). Size or beauty may adorn cities deprived of spiritual gifts, but your see is adorned with many excellent gifts. The city of Rome is chief and most illustrious, most populous, and presides over the world. . . . But faith adorns the city more than outward splendor. (Rom. i. 8.) . . . It has, moreover, the tombs of the fathers in common and teachers of the truth, *sc.*, Peter and Paul, illuminating the souls of the faithful. This most blessed and divine pair arose, indeed, in the east and diffused everywhere their beams; but they went down in the west, and from thence they now illuminate the world. These have rendered your see most noble. This is the climax of blessing for you. But now God has again rendered illustrious their throne, having set on it your holiness shedding forth the beams of a right faith." No word, as we perceive, which an English churchman might not employ. Autocracy, if it existed, would have been higher honor than any mentioned by Theodoret. Such negative testimony is very significant, though not conclusive, respecting Theodoret's knowledge of an autocracy.

16. Epistle CXX. is addressed by Leo to Theodoret two years after Chalcedon. We find him speaking at first in the very highest terms of his own share in putting down heresy; and very naturally, too. Was not his Tome accepted as the best statement of Catholic truth, and as perfectly harmonizing with what had been handed down in the Church? "What the Lord had previously defined by our ministry, He has established (*firmiter*) by the irreversible assent of the universal brotherhood, in order that He might show that that truly emanated from Him, which, first expressed (*formatum*) by the primal see, has been received by the judgment of the whole of Christendom; so that, in this also, the members might be in agreement with the head." (With Christ, or with Leo? Following words might seem to point to the

former as the head indicated, since he seems to recognize the ultimate authority of the synod in matters of faith, when he speaks of those receding in no respect from those rules of faith which the Divine Spirit put forth in the Chalcedonian synod) . . . "since both in the epistle of the apostolic see which was confirmed (*firmata*) by the assent of the holy synod, as we have known, so great testimonials of Divine authority were collected as to remove all doubt; and the acts of the synod in which first the definition of the faith was framed and then the aforesaid letters of the apostolic see were defended, were supported by so many testimonies of the fathers, that they can persuade any mind which is capable of learning the truth." Certainly this has not the tone of the Vatican claim.

17. Epistle CXXX. is addressed to the Emperor Marcian. Speaking of the dissensions and heresy prevailing at Alexandria, Leo does not claim to be a supreme and infallible judge, whatever he may have thought himself to be. He says: "Let the writings of the venerable fathers who have presided over that Church be read; the words of S. Athanasius, of Cyril, etc.; . . . and if there be those who despise my writings, they may at least acquiesce in those who along with us follow the apostles." Certainly a very moderate proposition from an infallible guide.

18. In Epistle CXLV., addressed to the new emperor, Leo I., he says: "Permit nothing established by the holy Chalcedonian synod respecting the Incarnation of our Lord to be moved by any retraction. For in that synod, assembled through the Holy Ghost, all things were so established (*firmata sunt*) with so full and perfect definition, that nothing can be added to that rule of faith or taken away from it, put forth, as it was, by Divine inspiration."

Leo goes a little further toward papal claims in his letter (CLX.) to the exiled Egyptian bishops, but still remains far

short of the modern Vatican claim. "For of things defined, which the authority of so great a synod and of the most Christian prince has ordained and fixed unalterably (*sanxit auctoritas*), and the assent of the apostolic see has confirmed (*confirmavit assensus*), nothing can be an open question."

These illustrations may serve to show what was and what was not claimed by the Bishop of Rome in the middle of the fifth Christian century. And while the Eastern patriarchates were shaken to their base by unchristian heresy, Alexandria and Jerusalem being its spoil, Antioch and Constantinople being in the hands of fickle and time-serving prelates, Rome alone standing firm on the rock of S. Peter's confession, what wonder that such a man as Leo, so far ahead of his generation in loyalty to Catholic faith and order, had a transcendent personal influence in the West, and not much less in the Eastern Church? Nor does it seem strange that what the man was entitled to, should become the inheritance of the see which he occupied.

But, comparing these illustrations of the age of Chalcedon with the Vatican decrees, we may see more plainly why the appeal to history is heresy in the eyes of ultramontanes, and why there is only one resort remaining for an honest defender of the papacy, *sc.*, a frank confession that in A.D. 450 it did not exist, but, by a process of evolution, it has been "developed" from the primacy of S. Peter to the autocracy of Leo XIII. This is an evolution without a parallel in fiction, unless it be the reverse process by which the spiritual religion of S. Paul, the highest aspiration of his reason, his conscience, and his heart, is developed out of the craven fears of a whipped cur.

**The Second and Third Councils
of Constantinople.**

LECTURE VI.

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THE SECOND AND THIRD COUNCILS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

FROM the hour in which the Council of Chalcedon condemned Eutychianism, the doctrine of the Incarnation came to be embodied in four words: truly, perfectly, invisibly, inconfusedly. From that hour "these words became the sum of the testimony of the four great Councils, the safeguard against every wind of error, from whatever quarter it might blow. That Jesus is true God, had been witnessed at Nicæa; that He is perfect Man, had been defined at Constantinople; that He is indivisibly One Person, had been settled at Ephesus; finally, the six hundred and thirty at Chalcedon declared that He is one and the same Christ, the Son, the Lord, the only-begotten, in two Natures, without confusion, change, division, or separation."*

* Mahan: "Ch. Hist.," p. 538.

This is substantially the statement of Hooker, already brought before the attention of this Club in a note appended to the First Lecture upon Catholic Dogma.

The first four General Councils, in the Providence of God, did their work so symmetrically, and succeeded so completely in presenting to us all that need be dogmatically known respecting the Person and Natures of our Blessed Lord, that the Fifth and Sixth Œcumenical Synods, being in a way supplementary to their predecessors, have been commonly supposed of little interest or value. One must, however, believe that any Council accepted by the Universal Church as an organ of the Holy Ghost, must have positive and special value; must have an utterance of its own. It would be strange indeed were it otherwise. That at least the Third Council of Constantinople added materially to the clearness of the Church's dogmatic belief no one can reasonably deny. The Monothelite question bore so directly upon the merit of the Atonement (as resulting from the exercise of our Lord's purely human will), that the declaration of the Sixth Œcumenical Synod, in respect of the integrity of that will, was a real gain upon what had before been affirmed.

The Fifth Council had no such clearly defined new matter, as it were, to discuss. It was

summoned only to accomplish the extirpation of Nestorianism, the condemnation of Nestorius himself and his doctrine having been already secured at the Council of Ephesus. Relatively to the Nestorian question, therefore, it may perhaps be admitted that the Fifth Council was superfluous; "that," as Gibbon puts it, "the famous dispute about the Three Chapters has filled more volumes than it deserves lines;" yet even here we may well consider that so long as the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, so baldly Nestorian, if we may so speak, remained uncensured, a well of heretical teaching lay open, which it were well to close. And certainly it is true that no Councils have a larger historical importance, in their bearing upon that infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, of which we have heard so much in recent days.

And apart from their value, these Councils possess very exceptional interest by reason of the great individuals and the great associations gathered around them. And if in connection with the Fifth General Council we also perceive a great intrigue, we must reflect that as God often makes the wrath of man to praise Him, so He brings good out of manifold evils, and extracts honey for His Church out of many a bitter herb.

The story of the Fifth Council is that of a

great drama, gathering into its various acts and scenes Justinian, the Dacian peasant and Emperor, the codifier of the Roman law, the suppressor of the schools of Athens, the builder of the great S. Sophia at Constantinople, the munificent constructor of quays, harbors, castles, churches, and monasteries, in various parts of his empire ; Theodora, his Empress, the actress of former days, dissolute then beyond words to fitly utter, yet transformed into a woman and an Empress, dutiful to her husband's honor and great position, while yet ruling him with an extent and completeness of management of which history affords few such examples ; Belisarius, the great general and conqueror ; Antonina his wife ; Agapetus, Silverius, Vigilius, Pontiffs of Rome ; courtier bishops at Constantinople ; disputatious monks and jealous bishops of Palestine ; the memory of Theodore of Mopsuestia ; and besides all these the great shade of Origen the Adamantine.

And we may say in advance of our consideration of the Sixth General Council, that a similar grouping of great personages and names embellishes its history ; *e.g.*, Heraclius, the conqueror of Persia ; Constans II. (and at one time probably in his train), Theodore of Tarsus, afterwards our own Archbishop of Canterbury ; and in the foreground Popes Martin and Agatho ;

Wilfrid of York, the first Romanizer of the English Church; and besides them Honorius of Rome, Sergius of Constantinople, Cyrus of Alexandria, and Sophronius of Jerusalem. Surely a great group of great men and great memories!

We approach, then, the study of these supplementary Councils with true respect for their importance, their value, and their interest.

Were we writing a history of these times instead of a lecture upon the Fifth and Sixth Councils, we should be obliged to follow a long and complicated narrative of events, intervening between the Council of Chalcedon and the Second of Constantinople, involving the action of a line of Emperors, reaching from Leo the First (the first sovereign to receive coronation at the hands of a bishop), through Basiliscus (the first Emperor to issue a decree prescribing points of faith), through Zeno, the author of the Henoticon; Anastasius, and Justin I., to Justinian the First. We should have to follow the organization of the Monophysite party in its resistance to the Chalcedonian Council, under the leadership of Theodosius of Palestine, Timothy Ælurus, Peter Mongus of Alexandria, Peter the Fuller, Severus of Antioch, and Anthimus the usurping and Monophysite patriarch placed upon the throne of S. Sophia by

Theodora. We should behold this party sinking down into the faction of the Acephali, and later on into the party of the Jacobites.

But all this detail must be avoided and postponed to the consideration of the events and issues distinctly connected with the synods assigned us as the subject of to-day. A word or two, however, from one of our American historians, may be found of value, as bridging over with a few bold strokes the interval between the Fourth General Council and the days of Justinian.

"The testimony of Chalcedon," says Mahan, "like that of Ephesus, had its wholesome effect mainly upon the upper soil of the Empire, upon the cultivated and courtly Greek intellect. The elements that lay lower, the Coptic, Syriac, the Oriental mind, were only stirred by it into a poisonous fermentation."* An agitation followed in Palestine, Egypt, and Syria, the details of which it would needlessly encumber us to follow. "In all these instances the general result was the same; the establishment of schismatical Patriarchates, with their dependencies in Syria, Armenia, Egypt; the fixing of creeds, canons, customs, and ritual observances, at the point which they had reached be-

* Mahan, p. 546.

fore the Council of Chalcedon; the more general use in worship of the vernacular tongues, a continuous disintegration into sects and schisms; yet with all a certain conservatism, in the midst of furious agitations, which fossilized the religion of *three*, as Nestorianism had done that of *two*, General Councils, and kept it a mute witness to later times.”*

In the meantime the Emperors, with that love of peace which characterizes all rulers in State or Church, were endeavoring to settle these religious quarrels of their subjects. Leo, Zeno, Basiliscus, Anastasius, each bore his part in the attempt. At last Justin the Elder ascended the throne 518 A.D.; brave, gentle, and orthodox; but too ignorant a man to govern well without aid, unsuited by temper or experience to take part in ecclesiastical struggles. His government was really administered by his nephew, Justinian. This latter himself ascended the imperial throne 527 A.D. He desired to be considered a zealous champion of the Chalcedonian orthodoxy. “Intermeddling in theological disputes was with him a favorite passion. Like Theodosius the Second, he affected the life of a monk, and cherished monkish superstitions. Like Constantius, he spent his time in the critical

* Mahan, p. 546.

balancing of dogmas. Like Valens, he was a ruthless persecutor: heretics, Jews, Samaritans, Pagans, were all victims in turn of his remorseless edicts: if the Catholics escaped, it was only because his last change of opinion occurred too near his death to allow time for its enforcement.* "Among all the titles of imperial greatness," says Gibbon, "the name of Pious was most pleasing to his ear." "He would," says Neander, "very willingly have been law-giver to the Church in the same sense as he was to the State; but the more he acted, or supposed he acted by his own impulse, the more he served as the tool of others who knew how to influence him by taking advantage of his weakness. Thus he was often obliged to subserve interests to which he was altogether opposed in his own intentions."

Justinian's accession to the throne brings us into the penumbra of the Fifth General Council, and opens out the way for the singular share two women had in the agitations and intrigues which preceded its assembly. These were the Empress Theodora, and Antonina the wife of Belisarius.

By the management of Theodora, Anthimus, Bishop of Trebizond, a Monophysite, who had

* Mahan, p. 551.

forsaken his See under the pretence of acquiring larger freedom to live a holy life as a monk, was promoted to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, then (535 A.D.) vacant. The Emperor supposed him to be an orthodox adherent of the Council of Chalcedon. The deception had been kept up but a brief period when a happy accident as we may say, brought the Roman Bishop Agapetus to Constantinople as ambassador of the Gothic King Theodatus. Justinian commanded him to communicate with Anthimus. "With the Bishop of Trebizond," replied the Pope, "when he has returned to his diocese and accepted the Council of Chalcedon, and the letters of Leo." The usurping Patriarch was summoned to render an account of his theology before the Emperor, convicted of Eutychianism, and degraded from the Patriarchal See, while Mennas, nominated in his room, was consecrated by Agapetus.

Theodora, however, was not a woman to be baffled. She had set her mind upon rehabilitating Monophysitism, and now upon securing the restoration of Anthimus to the throne of the Patriarchate. The story of her method is one of the most singular in history. In the train of Pope Agapetus (who meantime had died at Constantinople) was a certain deacon named Vigilius. This man was of unmeasured

ambition, of great ability, and of entire unscrupulousness. Theodora entered into a league with him, the object of which was the condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon, and the acknowledgment of Anthimus as the Bishop of Constantinople. To gain her point she promised Vigilius a large sum of money, either to secure his election as the successor of Agapetus, or as a substantial measure of reward for his compliance. Vigilius unscrupulously entered into the arrangement. Before he could reach Rome, however, Silverius, a subdeacon, had been elected Pope. Refusing to enter into a similar arrangement to that made with Vigilius, it was made necessary that he should give place to the latter. He was falsely accused of a design to betray Rome to the Goths, and his degradation was entrusted to Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, "the accomplice of the Empress in all of her intrigues of every kind." Summoned to the Pincian palace, the military head-quarters of Belisarius, the Pontiff found Antonina seated on the couch, her husband at her feet. Accused by this imperious woman of treason, the Pope's pallium was rent from his shoulders by a subdeacon, "he was hurried into another room, stripped of the rest of his dress, and clad in that of a monk." The clergy who accompanied him were informed of his

degradation in a few careless words, "the Pope Silverius is deposed and is now a monk."

Banished to Patara, Silverius made his way to Constantinople, where he stated his case to the Emperor, who had been kept in ignorance of the intrigue. Justinian commanded his immediate return to Rome, where, meantime Vigilius had been elected to Silverius's place; and it is said had paid two hundred pounds of gold to Belisarius for his interest. By the influence of Antonina, Silverius on his return was given up to Vigilius, who caused him to be seized, and carried off to the island of Palmaria, where he died of starvation.

Vigilius was now, by command of Belisarius, undisputed Pope. (The statement of Baronius, that after the death of Silverius, he resigned the Popedom, and was legitimately re-elected to it, is without foundation in fact.) As Milman remarks, "he had paid already a fearful price for his advancement; false accusation, cruel oppression, perhaps murder." At Rome, in 544 A.D., he declared his adhesion to the Four Councils and to the Tome of Leo, and approved the Anathema of Mennas of Constantinople against the Monophysites. "But four years after, Theodora demanded, and Vigilius dared not refuse, the rest of his unholy covenant, at least the base and secret adoption of all her

heretical opinions. In a letter still extant (a private letter to Theodora, possibly not brought to light until after her death) "but contested on account of its damning effect on one who was, or afterward became, Pope, rather than from any mark, either external or internal, of spuriousness," Vigilius gave his deliberate adhesion. He had earlier, it seems, confided to the hands of Antonina letters addressed to Anthimus, and to the other leaders of the Monophysite party, "in which he expressed opinions wholly in accordance with the Monophysite views, and signified his agreement in faith with them; but at the same time he craftily requested them, in order that he might keep on good terms with all parties, to be careful not to divulge what he had written, but rather to put on the appearance of being particularly suspicious about his faith, so that he might the more easily accomplish what he had undertaken."* He added a confession of his own faith, condemned the Tome of Leo, and anathematized Paul of Samosata, Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, and all who agreed with them.

This is the man whom Theodora selected to carry out her purposes for the Monophysites.

* Neander, vol. ii., 3d American ed., p. 536.

This is the inerrant Pontiff whose vacillations, in respect of "the Three Chapters," before and during the Fifth Council, we shall be called upon to observe.

Meantime something had happened in another direction than that of Monophysitism. The controversies respecting the writings of Origen, which had been rife in Palestine more or less since the fourth century, had lately revived in the monasteries of that country after they had been at rest for a century and a half. They broke out about 520 A.D., and precipitated upon the Church events now to be described. First, however, a word must be said about Origen and his controverted opinions, although so much has been admirably said of him, and of the Alexandrian School in a former lecture before this body. It will be enough perhaps to remark of him that, born about 185 A.D., at Alexandria, he affords us the first historical picture of the bringing up of a Christian child. From his earliest boyhood he seems to have been interested in the deeper meanings of Holy Scripture. His questions to his father upon the Sacred Writings were so many and so searching that when the boy lay asleep Leonides used to kiss his breast ("not his brow," Bishop Westcott observes, "*Pectus facit theologum*") as the temple of the Holy Ghost. Devout, ascetic,

learned, gifted, he became master of the Catechetical School of Alexandria when but a youth of eighteen. This famous school, founded, it is believed, by S. Mark, was not ecclesiastical. Its staff were not necessarily clergy. It had been presided over by Pantænus and by Clement before its mastership came to Origen. Its purpose was "partly to absorb, and partly to counteract, the intellectual influences outside Christianity." Its aim was much like that of the earlier schoolmen, to reconcile faith and reason; its effort much like that of our own day, to reconcile religion and science. It had great respect for ancient learning, and for all true philosophy. It accepted the principle "that Christianity is the inheritor, not only of the law and the prophets, but of everything that is true and helpful in heathen philosophy."* "This school, in its greatness and its faultiness, has well been called "an attractive but bewildering subject for the student." "Its powers were manifest, and its productions were brilliant: but their positive results it is by no means easy to comprehend or weigh: it is suggestive rather than solid. Its errors are abundant, although instructive. And it is richer in influence than in tangible results."† This school has always

* Plummer's "Church of the Early Fathers," p. 70.

† Ibid., in loc.

attracted the sympathy of minds that love learning, largeness, and every sort of generosity and magnanimity of judgment and feeling. In some respects it is the gauge of a man's quality of nature and mind, whether or not he can comprehend, and render justice to, the ideals and postulates of this great school. Of it Origen was "the finest flower." Its glory culminates in him. His speech and his life made him "a paradise" to his pupils, both here and elsewhere. No one of his day approached him "in the power which he exhibited in promoting sacred learning, in reconciling philosophy and religion, in confuting and converting pagans, Jews, and heretics, and in proving that Christianity supplies the noblest ideals to both the intellect and the will of man."* He loved sanctity, and he loved the enlightened understanding also. One of our greatest American writers has said, "the human mind stands ever in perplexity, demanding intellect, demanding sanctity; impatient equally of each without the other." Origen eminently realized this, and so pouring out himself and his wonderful learning and thought, in, it is improbably said, no less than six thousand works, it is not wonderful that from his love of philosophical thinking,

* Plummer's "Church of the Holy Fathers," p. 70, in loc.

from his delight in intellectual faculty, from his belief in the human reason as the overflow of the divine reason, he should be led, in the absence of dogmatic decisions on many points, into what we now must hold to be errors. His language, for example, in respect of the subordination of the Eternal Son to the Father; certain of his opinions as to the Divine Spirit; his speculations as to the eternity of matter; pre-existence of souls; the possibility of sin in a former state; the nature of the resurrection body and the resurrection life; the redemption of other beings than man; the final restitution of all lost angels and men. It is well said that "these are problems which perhaps will never cease to be discussed, but to which the human mind in this world is not likely to find the answer. The discussion of them is not very fruitful, and may easily become dangerous."*

The name and opinions of Origen, smaller souls and heretics of various descriptions, sought to shelter themselves behind. His postulates were pressed beyond their intended end, and his words were quoted apart from his reverent and submissive habit of mind. What he discussed as matter of possible truth, discernible to the Christian sage, other men

* Plummer : in loc.

taught as dogmatic certainties; open to the reception of all. And so it came to pass that, in the absence of authentic evidence of Origen's real views, and upon the basis of corrupted versions of his utterances, eccentric and uncatholic ideas came to be promulgated under his name; though, on the other hand, it must be admitted that his *De Principiis* contained sufficient speculative matter to make him a suspected teacher.

It so happened, then, to put it briefly, in Robertson's words, that "from the year 520 there had been disturbances among the monks of Palestine on the subject of Origen's opinions, which were especially maintained by the members of 'The New Laura,' while the majority of the monks were violent anti-Origenists. There had been censures, expulsions, frequent affrays, and bloodshed. The Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem were unable to allay the differences, and Justinian was well pleased to receive an appeal on the subject. He published a letter to the Patriarch Mennas, censuring certain doctrines extracted or inferred from Origen's writings; he declared that they were borrowed from Plato and the Manicheans (apparently forgetting that Manes was later than Origen); and he desired Mennas to bring the question before the Home Synod. This body censured

the opinions of Origen, and pronounced fifteen anathemas against them. The imperial manifesto was subscribed by Vigilius and the four Patriarchs of the East."* The Emperor also directed that for the future no person should be appointed bishop or abbot without first condemning Origen, along with the other heretics. Justinian could expect no general disturbance from these measures, as the judgment of the Church respecting Origen's peculiar opinions had from the first been determined. Strangely enough, both Domitian and Theodore Ascidas, Origenist Bishops at the court, subscribed the decrees and anathemas of the Synod, and so maintained their influence with their imperial rulers.

Ascidas, however, who was very notably an Origenist, felt the necessity of diverting the Emperor's mind from the very dangerous direction which (as he thought) it had taken. Knowing Justinian's anxiety to reduce the *Acephali* to conformity, he persuaded him that their opposition to the Council of Chalcedon did not arise from repugnance to its doctrines, but from its recognition of persons suspected of Nestorianism, such as Theodoret and Ibas; he therefore suggested that by a condemna-

* Robertson : "Church History," in loc.

tion of these Bishops, with the recognized father of Nestorianism, Theodore of Mopsuestia, the prejudices of the party might be overcome, and they might be won to a reconciliation. As for the objection to condemning persons who had died in the communion of the Church, it was (he said) removed by the late precedent of the anathemas against Origen.

Thus a new question was precipitated upon the Church. It was no longer the controversy upon Origenism or Monophysitism, but whether certain writings a century old were favorable to Nestorianism.

This compels a word as to the persons and writings now to come under consideration, viz.: Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia; Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, and Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, and the three chapters. Before discussing them, however, it will be necessary to take a glance at the great theological school of Antioch, which Theodore in particular so eminently represented.

Antioch was the head of the Syrian Churches, and shared very largely in the general awakening of thought which distinguished the latter half of the second century. The struggle of Paul of Samosata had had a good effect upon the Antiochian Church in awakening increased interest in the study of Holy Scripture; but a

certain Aristotelian, mathematical, and coldly logical spirit had quickly taken possession of this school, sharply marking it off against the mystic and more spiritual school of Alexandria. "There were within it, however," as has been remarked, "many learned men, with much study, much discussion, much effort to reconcile religion with what was then considered science; much earnest and thoughtful, and in some cases it would seem sceptical, investigation."* There was also a vicious habit of making sacred themes the subjects of school exercises in declamation or debate, and in addition to all this, a subtle influence of the Judaizing spirit. In contrast to the allegorizing method of the school of Alexandria, the school of Antioch was marked by a more critical interpretation of Scripture. It looked to grammar and history for its principles of exegesis. This tendency was markedly encouraged in time by distinguished men, among whom were Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The allegorizing method of Alexandria, it has been well said, "without difficulty accommodated itself to the tradition of the Church, and its veneration for Holy Scripture was so great that it hardly admitted any human element to

* Mahan, p. 284.

be taken account of. Every jot and tittle had significance. The grammaticological system of Antioch took notice of the human as well as the divine element in the Sacred Scriptures; men were led to perceive the diversity of human individualities of character in the style of the inspired writers; discrepancies were noted between historical accounts in particular matters, and the perception of these facts led to a different way of apprehending the idea of inspiration."

And it has been said with equal force that "in connection with this different mode of conceiving the idea of inspiration there would come to be fixed, also, a different point of view from which to consider the divine and human elements in the lives of the apostles, and in the life of Christ himself." The exegetical tendency just described could not but lead to the emphasizing of the human element in Christ, as the Alexandrian tendency gave prominence to the divine. This special tendency of the Antiochian School was wrought out in the Apollinarian controversy (in which the Catholic tenet, that our Lord possessed a true human soul, was opposed by the teaching of Apollinaris, that the place of the *νοῦς* in Christ was supplied by the *λόγος*).

"In order to maintain the principle of a really

human ethical personality in the historical Person of Jesus, not only the completeness, but also the independence, and the permanent distinction of nature, of the human nature, was emphasized." * "A doctrine of the ethical development of Christ was so taught by the Antiochian opponents of Apollinaris as to endanger the unity of the Divine-human person of Christ; to incur the danger of its being split in two." Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, very pre-eminently represented this tendency. Of the first of these it is only necessary just now to say that in the Apollinarian discussion "there appeared in him that conception of the person of Christ already prefigured in the Antiochian tendency, and which brought him into a certain degree of discord with the other defenders of the Nicene doctrine, and made him very especially and notably the founder of the dogmatic school of Antioch."

As the school of Alexandria reached its highest point in Origen, so the dogmatic school of Antioch reached its climax in Theodore of Mopsuestia. Like Diodorus, he was a native of Antioch, and died about 428 or 429 A.D. He was pre-eminently a commentator, and in this connection Moeller remarks of him:

* Moeller's "History of the Christian Church," p. 416.

"Grammatico-historical explanation and observation of the temporal horizon of the writer, even where the indwelling, typical character of prophecy is recognized, and on the other hand, free judgment on the Canon, and the value of individual books, are the outstanding characteristics of (his) exegesis. . . . In his combating of Apollinaris and Eunomius and (in) the treatise written thirty years later against Apollinarius . . . the Christological view is clearly impressed, which conceals within itself sharp opposition to the neo-Alexandrian tendency." *

"It was the great purpose of Theodore," says Neander, "to show in what way we are to conceive that deity and humanity, while abiding each in its own peculiar essence in Christ, were still bound together by a certain relation in one personal fellowship and unity. . . . If we look at the distinction of the deity and humanity," says he, quoting Theodore, "there we must distinguish from each other two natures, abiding without disturbance, each in its own purity and completeness; and accordingly, since both the conceptions are strictly connected, two persons. But if we look at their union in the above-mentioned relation, we must speak of Christ as

* Moeller's "History of the Christian Church," p. 407.

a person in whom, as one, the human nature has been taken up into fellowship with the divine." * This Theodore illustrates by comparing it with the case in which man and wife are a certain relation, called one body. "Thus," Neander goes on to say, "Theodore contradicted what constituted the prevailing doctrine, not only in the Alexandrian Church, but also in other Churches."

Dorner sums up the leading principles of Theodore's teaching in these words:† "The completeness of his conception of the humanity of Christ may be seen from a series of individual traits which he has preserved for us. Mary gave birth to Jesus, not to the Logos, for the Logos was and continued to be omnipresent, although from the commencement he dwelt in a peculiar way in Jesus. The Logos did not originate with and in Jesus, Mary therefore was properly the Mother of Christ, not of God. Only in a figure, *per anaphoram*, can she be styled the Mother of God, namely, on the ground that God was in Christ in a special manner. Strictly speaking, she bore a man with whom the Logos had already, it is true, begun to unite himself, but the union was at first so far from complete,

* Neander, Vol. ii., p. 443.

† Dorner's "Person of Christ," Div. 2, Vol. i., p. 44.

that Jesus could not then have been termed Son of God or Redeemer. He was called Jesus, a name which Joshua also had borne. Not till after His baptism was he designated Son of God by the voice of the Father, just as Simon and Saul received, at a later period, the names Peter and Paul. . . . By nature this man was neither Son of God, nor Lord."

These expressions and many similar ones, significantly, as Dorner goes on to say, "indicate Theodore's peculiar position. . . . Strictly speaking, the two persons were one only in outward appearance, as the image of marriage shows. Inwardly they were still two persons, though harmoniously related, and so closely connected, that everything done, was done at the impulse of the Logos in Christ." *Essentialiter*, they continued two persons; *actualiter*, they had the appearance of one person.*

From this brief résumé of Theodore's dicta on what the Church knows as the *Hypostatic Union*, we must perceive at a glance that they are quite at one with the teachings of Nestorius, in point of doctrine the disciple of Theodore.

One can perceive no substantial difference between the Christology of the disciple and

* Dorner's "Person of Christ," Div. 2, Vol. i., p. 47.

the master. Nestorius's doctrine differed from that of Theodore, it has been said, "only in its containing fewer speculative elements, and in its evincing less anxiety (perhaps on polemical ground) to preserve the unity of the Person of Christ than was displayed by his teacher."

Not only was Theodore's *rationale* of the *Hypostatic Union* contrary to the doctrine afterward declared at Ephesus; he was offensive to many for the freedom of his views on the subject of inspiration. These views were very noteworthy. "He assigned different degrees of inspiration to different books of Holy Scripture, according to their character as historical, prophetic, or didactic. He seems to have very little valued the books of Solomon. The book of Job he thought lightly of. Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah he quite rejected. The accuracy of the titles of the Psalms he denied." He minimized the value of what we know as the Messianic element, referring Messianic passages to the Kings of Israel. He criticised the general Epistles, and like Luther, rejected the Epistle of S. James. It was not therefore wonderful, in the final issue of things at the Fifth General Council, that those who said that "he was an orthodox expounder" were anathematized. It may be remarked, too, that his general tendency of mind led him also to reject the doctrine of

original sin, and so placed him among the Pelagian theologians.

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, the second of the persons involved in the matter of the Three Chapters, was like Theodore a native of Antioch. Though an exegete, he is perhaps best known as an ecclesiastical historian. His place in the history of events now under consideration, grows out of his relation to the Nestorian controversy and his attitude toward Cyril of Alexandria, in connection with it. Cyril, while zealously and needfully fighting the battle of orthodoxy, which raged about the word *Theotokos*, unhappily yielded himself to an arrogant temper, and, in Theodoret's view, "seemed to turn the dispute about the word into a contest between the doctrinal systems of the two schools of Antioch and Alexandria."

In the year 430 A.D., Cyril sent a letter to Nestorius, in which he "laid before him the system of doctrine which he must confess as the true system, and unfolded in twelve formulas of condemnation (or anathemas) what he had to recant." These formulas, orthodox and necessary as they were, yet constituted at the same time nothing less than "the Egyptian Creed" "carried out in opposition to the rigidly Antiochian system, as it had been expressed in the technical phrases of the Antiochian School."

The question, as Cyril put it, resolved itself as the Antiochians thought, from an attack upon Nestorius to one on the form of doctrine taught in the Syrico-Asiatic Church, a form mistaken and defective as we know it to be, yet endeared to the theologians of Antioch as their contribution toward the maintenance of the human nature, as against the Apollinarians. John, Patriarch of Antioch, who stood at the head of the Antiochian teachers, deemed it necessary to enter into a public refutation of these anathemas, and selected Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, for this purpose. Theodoret in fulfilling this mission fell into the snare which so often be-sets theologians. He permitted his dogmatic zeal to cloud his fairness, and instead of gratefully recognizing what truth underlay the anathemas of Cyril, pressed their forms of expression in such a way as to make the Alexandrian Patriarch utter heresies, Apollinarian, Gnostic, Manichæan. For more than twenty years Theodoret continued his struggle with the Alexandrian dogmatic formulæ.

The third person involved in the ultimate condemnation of "the Three Chapters" was Ibas, Bishop of Edessa from about 435 to 457 A.D. He appears first as a presbyter of that Church, under the episcopate of Rabulas; and warmly advocated those Antiochian views of

which the Bishop was an uncompromising opponent. He translated into Syriac and disseminated the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, whom he ardently admired. He attended the Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., as a presbyter. In 433 he wrote the letter to Maris, a Persian Bishop, to which so much celebrity belongs as one of the *Tria capitula*. This letter was written angrily against Cyril, charging him with Apollinarianism, with denying the Catholic doctrine of the union of the two natures in one Person. It also denounced the twelve anathemas of Cyril as heretical. He acquainted Maris with the behavior generally of Cyril at Ephesus, and with his ultimate reconciliation with John of Antioch. He exulted over what he thought the recession of Cyril from his Ultra-Alexandrianism. On his accession to the Episcopal See of Edessa, in 435 or 436, his enemies took concerted measures to secure his deposition, accusing him of fomenting dissension between the Syrian and the Egyptian Bishops, of openly preaching heretical doctrine, etc.* After much plotting and many vexatious measures, he was at last deposed by his enemies from his see, eventually restored to him however by the Council of Chalcedon;

* "Dictionary of Christian Biography," in loc.

which having heard read his letter to Maris, and having demanded of him that he should anathematize Nestorius and Eutyches, and accept the Tome of Leo, admitted him to his seat and vote as bishop of Edessa. And we may as well say here as elsewhere, that the Council of Chalcedon at a previous session had taken substantially the same action in Theodoret's case. On Theodoret's appearance at the first session, he was received with loud cries of disfavor on account of his share in the controversy between Cyril and Nestorius. Being compelled at the eighth session to anathematize Nestorius by name, he was pronounced exonerated by the Judges, and the Synod in due form received him into favor.

These, then, were the three men, and these their specific writings, whose condemnation, Ascidas persuaded the Emperor, was alone wanting to bring about the reconciliation of the Monophysites. Justinian had desired this reconciliation, and had been about to bring out over his own name a work in defence of the Chalcedonian Council against their objections. The Empress Theodora joined hands with the Origenist Ascidas in this undertaking, and the Emperor was persuaded to issue an Edict on the subject, which, from the three repeatedly mentioned points of which it treated,

afterward obtained the name of the Edict *De Tribus Capitulis*. By this, anathema was pronounced upon the person of Theodore of Mopsuestia and his writings; on Theodoret's writings against Cyril, and upon the letter of Ibas. The anathema was extended to all the defenders of "the Three Chapters," and to all who should draw any inference from the Edict to the prejudice of the Council of Chalcedon.

The Edict was now sent throughout the Empire for signature. This was not so easy a thing to accomplish as had been the subscription to the condemnation of Origen; for the new measure of Justinian was at once taken to be an attack on the authority of the Council of Chalcedon, and a favoring of the Monophysites. Mennas, the Patriarch of Constantinople, expressed himself as opposed to the Edict, because it seemed disparaging to the Chalcedonian Synod. He declared that he would wait until he should learn the purpose of the Roman Bishop. Mennas at length yielded, however, and subscribed conditionally, upon the Roman Bishop not opposing the condemnation of "the Three Chapters." The other Patriarchs of the East, under threat of deposition, likewise subscribed. The West, however, and the African Church especially, refused compliance.

As Pope Vigilius's adherence to the Edict

was so very important to the purpose of Justinian, the Emperor summoned him to Constantinople. "He set forth," says Milman, "loaded with the imprecations of the Roman people, and assailed with volumes of stones, as the murderer of Silverius, and a man of notorious cruelty."

Vigilius had been well advised by the African theologians, and on starting out was resolute against the Edict. He faced the Emperor bravely, terming him "a new Diocletian." He excluded from his communion Mennas, the Patriarch of Constantinople; he excommunicated Theodorus Ascidas, the Origenist Bishop of Cæsarea, and put under his ban the lately deceased Empress herself. All which censures before long he was compelled to withdraw. Vigilius at length suffered himself to be drawn into a secret written declaration, condemning the Three Articles. Through Vigilius, Justinian attempted to influence a Synod assembled at Constantinople. Vigilius was glad that his first public declaration on so perilous a subject should be buttressed by such episcopal following, and trusted that such support would in so much secure him from the reproach of his own see and from that of the West generally. The Bishops, however, could not be managed as an assembly. The Pope therefore negotiated with

them as individuals, and so succeeded. He so dexterously managed the matter, as to secure for his first public declaration, viz., his so-called *Judicatum*, the signatures of seventy Bishops. (In the *Judicatum* Vigilius aimed at satisfying both parties; the Orientals by condemning the Three Articles, and the Latins, by professing that he did so without prejudice to the Council of Chalcedon.) This step, however, did not fail to produce opposition. Two of the Pope's deacons opposed him, and spread the *Judicatum* far and wide. The North African Church formally excommunicated him in a Synodal Decree. "The West at once threw off its allegiance, and refused to listen to the ingenious sophistry with which Vigilius attempted to reconcile his solemn judgment with his former opinions. Illyricum, Africa, with all her own dauntless pertinacity, even his own clergy, revolted against the renegade Pope."* Vigilius was not unsensitive to the opinion of the West, and so now begged the Emperor to refer the decision of the matter to a General Council, which the Western Bishops should also attend. He also persuaded the Emperor to hand back to him, meantime, his first official decision, the *Judicatum*.

* Milman : "Latin Christianity," Bk. 3, chap. iv.

Justinian knew Vigilius, and to make quite sure of his subserviency, put him under oath; such an oath as the Emperor was pleased to dictate. "He promised in it that, heart and hand with the Emperor, he would do all in his power to carry through the condemnation of the Three Articles. In defence of them, he would neither directly do nor say anything, nor enter into any secret councils. And should any individual propose to him anything that conflicted with these decisions, anything that concerned the Three Articles or the Faith, or that was contrary to the interests of the State, he would make the individual known to the Emperor, as well as all that he said; on condition, however, that the Emperor should not attempt the life of any such person, and out of regard for his sacred office, that he should not betray the informer." * In 551 A.D. the Emperor summoned the Bishops from Illyria and Africa to a Council at Constantinople. The Illyrian Bishops declined to attend, and only a limited number of North African Bishops obeyed the summons.

Every expedient was tried to move the Africans, both at Constantinople and at home, to accept the Emperor's Edict. Turning from

* Neander, Vol. ii., p. 546.

these again to Vigilius the Emperor sought to bring him once more to the condemnation of the Articles. Disregarding the remonstrances of the Pope, Justinian issued a new Edict, still more full in details, more of a treatise than of a decree. In this he defended himself against the reproach that his sentence tended to impair the authority of the Council of Chalcedon.

This new Edict, Vigilius was required to subscribe, but the example of the North African and Illyrian Bishops had given him courage. He demanded of the Emperor that the Edict should be revoked; he "ought to wait," suggested Vigilius, "for the common decision of the bishops."

He threatened all who should receive the Imperial Edict with excommunication. As a result of this Vigilius was obliged to betake himself to "Sanctuary." Here took place that tragic scene, in which an Imperial officer, attempting to remove him from the church, the Pontiff took refuge under the altar, and clung to its pillars so firmly, that it was almost overturned upon him. The emperor promising him safety, however, the Pope returned to Constantinople, where he was treated as a prisoner.

A second time he escaped, now to the Church of S. Euphemia at Chalcedon. After many overtures from the emperor, he was persuaded

to return to Constantinople, where the Fifth General Council met in May, 553 A.D. This Council was attended by one hundred and sixty-five bishops, including all the Eastern Patriarchs, but from the West there were but a few African bishops. Vigilius declined being present, partly on the pretext that his predecessors had always abstained from personally attending General Councils, partly on the plea of illness. "Every breeze that came from the West bore to his ears the rumors of rebellion." After the fourth session, the Council having anathematized the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Vigilius interposed, with a second document, known as his *Constitutum*, in which he endeavored to take a middle course, by condemning the writings which were in question, but without reflecting on their authors, even on Theodore of Mopsuestia.

The emperor's patience being now exhausted, he caused to be laid before the Council the secret engagements which Vigilius had made with him, and desired that the Pope might be excluded from the Diptychs. The Council acted accordingly. After recapitulating the proceedings of the Council in the examination of the writings of Theodore, Theodoret and Ibas, and the grounds on which they rested their condemnation of the person of

Theodore, after his death, no less than of his writings, the Council declared its reception and confirmation of the decrees of the first Four General Councils, and proceeded to say :

“ Moreover, we condemn and anathematize, together with all the other heretics who have been condemned and anathematized by the before-mentioned four Holy Synods, and by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, Theodorus, who was Bishop of Mopsuestia, and his impious writings, and also those things which Theodoret impiously wrote against the right faith, and against the Twelve Chapters of the Holy Cyril, and against the first Synod of Ephesus, and also those which he wrote in defence of Theodorus and Nestorius. In addition to these, we also anathematize the impious epistle which Ibas is said to have written to Maris the Persian, which denies that God the Word was Incarnate of the Holy Bringer-forth of God, and ever Virgin Mary, and accuses Cyril of holy memory, who taught the truth, as a heretic, and of the same sentiments with Apollinaris, and blames the first Synod of Ephesus as deposing Nestorius without examination and inquiry, and calls the Twelve Chapters of the holy Cyril impious, and contrary to the right faith, defends Theodorus and Theodoret, and their impious opinions and writings.

We, therefore, anathematize the three before-mentioned chapters, that is, the impious Theodorus of Mopsuestia, with his execrable writings, and those things which Theodoret impiously wrote, and the impious letter which is said to be of Ibas and their defenders, and those who have written or do write in defence of them, or who dare to say that they are correct, and who have defended or attempted to defend their impiety with the names of the holy Fathers, or the Holy Council of Chalcedon." *

Vigilius, some months later, made a humiliating submission to the decisions of the Assembly, ascribing his past differences of opinion to the instigation of the devil. He repeated this in a longer paper withdrawing all his acts on the other side. After this submission he obtained leave to return to his see, and died in Sicily on his progress homeward.

It has been thought necessary to go into all this detail respecting the Fifth General Council, especially in its relation to Vigilius, because the narrative itself is the most powerful commentary that can be written upon these events, and because had the Council no special value by reason of its condemnation of the Three Chapters, it would have enormous value for

* "Hammond on the Canons," p. 129.

what it suggests respecting the infallibility of Peter and his successors. Popes had before been suspected of heresy, *e.g.*, Zephyrinus and Callistus. Liberius had, as Dr. Pusey says, "made a fall miserably complete," when he not only signed a Sirmian Creed, but declared that he spoke "in true faith" the "same as his common Lord and brother Demophilus," declaring also to Ursacius, Valens, and Germinius, that "as God was his witness," and "not compelled by any constraint" he greeted them as "brethren,"* but Vigilius, covered with guile, treachery, wicked engagements, and selfish fears, vacillating from side to side, to-day standing out for right with the West, to-morrow declaring that he had so done "by the craft of the devil," is a strange illustration of the *Charisma* (if we may so speak), by which Peter was forever to "strengthen his brethren." But as the Sixth General Council will involve some consideration of the inerrancy of the Roman Pontiffs, we reserve further remark upon this point until we reach the treatment of that Council. We dismiss the further consideration of this portion of the subject with the following words of Moeller: "The Pontificate of Vigilius marks a crushing defeat

* "Pusey on the Councils," pp. 170, 171.

of the development of the claims of Rome. If at the Fourth Œcumenical Council Leo of Rome was the master of the position, now, a century later, it was the Byzantine Emperor Justinian, with his court theology. The Byzantines now regarded the Bishop of Rome only as one (though at the same time the first in rank) of the Patriarchs, on an equal footing with Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The Œcumenical Council (the Fifth) met against the will of Rome, and excommunicated Vigilius. And the humiliated Vigilius afterward accepted the propositions of the Council which he had rejected, and in doing so found himself again in opposition to the weightiest opinions of the West." *

A point of considerable interest remains to be noticed in connection with the 11th canon of the Fifth General Council. We have already considered the condemnation of Origen by Justinian's Edict; we have said something of the man and of his famous school, and we have noted that devotion to him which led Theodore Ascidas to precipitate upon the emperor's attention the Three Articles, to divert further attention from Origen and his opinions.

We now go on to remark that such histori-

* Moeller's "History of the Christian Church," p. 353.

ans as Hefele, Walch, Döllinger, and Dupin decide that the fifteen anathemas against Origen, which are sometimes represented as pronounced by the Holy Fathers of the Fifth General Council were really enacted by the Home Synod under Mennas, a synod of course having no Œcumenical weight or authority. Dupin strongly holds that inasmuch as in the eight conferences or sessions of the Fifth Council, there is no mention made of any other business than that of the three chapters, the affair of Origen was not inquired into by it. Other writers point out that no mention is made of Origen's opinions in the Edict of Justinian convening the Fifth Council, though he there enumerates the subjects for discussion. It has been thought also a suspicious circumstance that the name of Origen as it appears in the eleventh canon does not occur in its right chronological order. The canon runs: "If any one does not anathematize Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinarius, Nestorius, Eutyches, Origen, together with their impious writings, and all other heretics who have been condemned and anathematized by the four before-mentioned Holy Councils, and those also who have thought or do think, like the before-mentioned heretics, and have continued or do continue in their wickedness to their death, let them be anathema."

"Even if we admit," says Dale, in his learned article in the "Dictionary of Christian Biography," "that the Fifth Council added the name of Origen to those anathematized by the four preceding Councils, it is difficult to explain how or when the Assembly could have decided upon the preliminary censure, before inserting his name in the condemned list."* De Marca and others think that the synodical acts as we have them are mutilated.

But, on the other hand, from allusions made to Origen's condemnation in the records of the Sixth General Council, in the acts of the Second Council of Nicæa, and from the statements of contemporaries who it is claimed had read the acts of the Council, "there is sufficient evidence to deter us from a dogmatic denial that the condemnation of Origen occurred." "And without more convincing proof than any that has hitherto been given to support the theory that the name of Origen as it stands in the eleventh canon is a subsequent interpolation we must accept," as Dale remarks, "the clause as it stands."†

To minds that appreciate Origen's piety, learning, modesty, good faith, and habitual sub-

* "Dictionary of Christian Biography," Art. Origenistic Controversies.

† Ibid.

missiveness toward the Church, and his confessorship at last, it is not a grateful thought that his memory should be clouded with such a censure, or even apparent censure, as that associated with the Fifth General Council. Yet one must consider certain facts which may account at least in part for it. No doubt Origen's eschatological opinions were his great offense in the minds of his opponents; and perhaps, in view of the moral and social corruption of Roman society in his day and in the days of his condemnation, any speculations which seemed to minimize the sternness of God's wrath against sin may have seemed, not only to the great majority of the Fathers of this Council who most probably believed Origen's opinions to be false in themselves, but even to those most open to the force of his underlying postulates, especially dangerous to the practical Christian life of the multitude. It was, to say the least, hazardous to depart from the accustomed tradition, language, and teaching of the Church as a whole in respect of that future which has to deal with God's judgments upon sin. As Professor Mivart suggests, it would have been "fatally misleading" to men in the old pagan days of the world, to have admitted much that we to-day may properly and safely admit, as to the elements of truth and righteousness in the

religions of Greece and Rome, to admit that "Zeus and Athene, Ares and Aphrodite" were "expressions of the divine." That "pagan rites and ceremonials were in their measure good," or that the "worship of the heathen" was "an acceptable service." In the same way a method of teaching respecting the restitution of all things, which might be misleading to the multitude, and might relax Christian energy, may justly have been thought, even by those most friendly to Origen, censurable practically, as likely to result in great evils, and may thus have been thought grave enough to bring upon Origen the condemnation of the Church. It must also be remembered that Origen himself was anxious to keep his opinions as to the non-eternity of punishment from the multitude. One is reminded in this connection of instructions said to have been given by Ignatius Loyola to Salmeron and Lainez as he dispatched them as Papal theologians to the Council of Trent. "As to the course they were to pursue in the Council, and especially in relation to opinions broached there by eminent persons, and sustained by weighty arguments, by citations from the Fathers, and by passages of Holy Scripture, Loyola enjoined upon them, in most peremptory terms, an exact adherence to the decisions of the Church, as already under-

stood. Strong reasons, nay, reasons irresistibly strong, although they may make an opinion probable, do not make it Catholic, and therefore do not avail to recommend it in any degree to our approval and acceptance."*

These words, uttered in the sixteenth century, may interpret the minds of many of the Fathers of the Fifth General Council. They certainly do suggest a possible mode of viewing the question at issue, and the obligations to authority and tradition, in the face even of probable opinion. It is also to be considered, that it has pleased Almighty God, in condescension to the inadequacy of human language, and to the limitations of man's situation generally, to impart divine truth economically and not abstractly. To that economical method, it is doubtless meant that the Church should adhere; maintaining in general, and in the interest of the many, that unity and economy of teaching, which our Lord in His wisdom has seen fit to impose upon His Church.

Bishop Westcott, however, well says respecting Origen that "with all his faults and shortcomings, he is the greatest representative of a type of Greek Christian thought which has not yet done its work in the West. By his sym-

* Isaac Taylor's "Loyola and Jesuitism," p. 175.

pathy with all effort, by his largeness of view, by his combination of a noble morality with a deep mysticism, he indicates, if he does not bring the true remedy for the evils of that Africanism which has been dominant in Europe since the time of Augustine."*

Pope Vigilius was succeeded in the Roman Pontificate by his Archdeacon Pelagius, who, adhering to the Council, and assisted by Narses, enforced its acceptance by deprivation, banishment, and other penalties.

In the West the dangerous character of Theodore of Mopsuestia's dicta was little realized, nor did it estimate the support a lingering Nestorianism found in his authority. The condemnation of Theodoret and Ibas was regarded as distinctly dishonoring to the Council of Chalcedon, and as endangering its authority. The decisions of the Fifth Council were therefore largely resisted. The bishops of the Italian diocese separated from Rome on this account, and though Milan and Ravenna, through stress of circumstances, were soon forced to seek reconciliation with Rome and the Empire, the Metropolitans of Aquileia, with the Istrian bishops, remained out of communion with Rome for nearly a hundred and fifty years, half the time

* "Religious Thought in the West," Westcott, p. 246.

which has elapsed since the rupture of the Church of Rome with the Church of England. Ultimately, however, the West fell into line with the East, and the Second General Council of Constantinople came to be received and revered as an Œcumenical Synod.

The Third General Council of Constantinople, generally known as the Sixth General Council, was assembled by the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, A.D. 680. It was called to terminate new divisions which had sprung up in the Church through the heresy of the Monothelites. The distinctive tenet of these heretics was that "the divine and human natures of Christ did not possess separate Divine and human wills, but one will partly human and partly divine." This heresy was closely allied to the teaching of the Monophysite Severus of Antioch, in whose theory "the qualities of the human nature were all retained in our Lord after the Incarnation, although that nature was in Him so amalgamated with the Divine Being, that it could not be said to possess any being or identity of its own. Thus the Monophysite conception of Christ's Person settled into that of a theandric or composite nature, analogous to that composite action of His Person, which later divines have called a Theandric Opera-

tion."* An obvious objection to this view, at once is seen to be, as has been remarked, that "belief in a composite nature is inconsistent with the Nicene Creed, which asserts that our Lord Jesus Christ is of one substance with the Father, and since the Father is not of a composite nature, to declare the Son to be of such a nature, is to declare him to be of a different substance from the Father." Monothelitism owes its distinct formulation to Theodore, Bishop of Pharan in Arabia, who taught that "all the acts of Christ proceeded from one principle, originating in the Word, and operating through the human soul and body. Hence, though the Logos and the manhood were distinct natures, they were both acted upon by one and the same *ἐνέργεια*, and there being one activity, there was one will by which it was moved, that will being Divine."†

Accounts differ as to the way in which the subject came before the Emperor Heraclius. That which is based upon the letters of Sergius of Constantinople to Cyrus, Bishop of Phasis, and to Honorius of Rome, is the narrative we shall follow.

It would seem, then, that at the beginning of

* Blunt's "Dictionary of Sects, Heresies," etc., in loc.

† Ibid.

his Eastern campaigns, Heraclius encountered in Armenia one Paulus, a bishop, holding the doctrines of Severus. The emperor had a discussion with him, in which mention was made of "one operation" in Christ. Some four years later, Heraclius mentioned his dispute with Paulus in the presence of Cyrus, Bishop of Phasis, who professed uncertainty whether one or two operations should be ascribed to the Incarnate Word. By the emperor's direction, he wrote to Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, inquiring which doctrine was correct, and whether any of the Fathers had written of "one operation." Sergius sent him what purported to be a letter of the Patriarch Mennas, in which our Lord was said to have "one will and one life-giving operation." The next year Cyrus was translated to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the stronghold of Monophysitism, with a view of bringing about a union upon the compromise of the one operation. Cyrus at once held a Council, in which terms of reunion were arranged in nine articles, the seventh of which distinctly declared that "our Lord wrought the acts appertaining both to God and to man, by one Theandric (divinely human) operation." This canon was protested against by a learned monk named Sophronius, then at Alexandria, who afterward became a prominent figure in

this controversy. Sophronius declared that this doctrine revived the Apollinarian heresy, which made the Divine nature of Christ to be the soul of his human nature. Sophronius repaired to Constantinople with letters to Sergius, who, failing to obtain from Sophronius any passages from the Fathers distinctly speaking of two operations, enjoined silence upon him and upon Cyrus; silence in respect of the use of either of the expressions, one operation or two operations. In 634 A.D. Sophronius became Patriarch of Jerusalem, and so was in a position to become a formidable opponent of the new doctrine, and likely to reopen the controversy. Sergius wrote accordingly a letter to Honorius of Rome, which, with the Pope's reply, remains as one of the most noted, and in respect of the Papal See, one of the most important in the history of the Church.

Before entering upon the consideration of the letters of Sergius and Honorius, it may be well to say that the Monothelite position had its attraction for Heraclius as a sort of middle term, affording a platform of union between the Catholic and the Monophysite communities. Notwithstanding its fair surface, however, "it was the last link of a long chain of efforts, beginning with Apollinaris, or rather with the *Docetæ*, to find something in which the manhood assumed

by our Lord might differ in nature from the humanity inherited from Adam. Sin only, excepted, he was made in all things like unto us. But 'sin' might be thought identical with the sinful *will* in man, and the 'sinful will' might easily be confounded with the human will. To deny 'sin' therefore in Christ seemed to carry with it a denial of 'the human will' in Christ. Furthermore, it was argued, the will pertains to man's personality, rather than to his nature. When our Lord, therefore, assumed man's nature, He did not take his will; the will of the Word acted in and through the two natures, by what was called a *Theandric Operation*.*

Sophronius almost alone, was clear-minded enough to see that "to deny the human will in Christ, or to deny even the natural *Operation* of that will, was to detract from his perfect humanity, and to bring in the error of Apollinaris under another form."† There had been no question about the existence and operation of the Divine Will, and the question was "1, whether there was a human will also; and 2, whether, if there was a human will, it was not the mere instrument of the Divine will, so that it never operated or acted of itself. But our Lord's human nature would be imperfect

* Mahan, p. 555.

† Ibid., p. 556.

without a human will, and the human will is a free will; therefore our Lord's human will wrought (operated) independently—*i.e.* He had two wills and two operators."*

Bruce in his "Humiliation of Christ," rather scoffs at the Monothelite controversy as belonging to what he calls the era of "anatomical Christology."† Yet one can see how the whole question of the truth of the Incarnation of God in man's nature was bound up with it. Archbishop Trench much more justly estimates its importance when he writes "The controversy of the Church with the Monothelites in the seventh century, a conflict in which commonly so little interest is taken, even by students of Church history, was one for life and death. The denial of a human will in Christ was in fact a denial of His Sacrifice."‡ Blunt has very strikingly observed, "As it was part of Christ's work, that He should learn obedience through suffering, so the subjugation of His free human will to perfect obedience to the Divine Will, is shown to be the very climax of His work, a fact which is in itself an entire confutation of the heresy of the Monothelites."‡

* Cutts's "Turning Points of Church History," p. 242, note.

† Hulsean Lectures, p. 225, n.

‡ "Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology."

Sophronius then was right in not permitting the question to die. He felt strongly about it, for he saw so clearly what it meant in its final issues. Sergius, as we have seen, took the alarm when Sophronius became Patriarch of the Holy City, and wrote to Honorius, detailing the previous history of the question. These details have been already noted. Honorius, however, lays much stress upon the conciliation brought about by Cyrus, at Alexandria, between the Monophysites and the Catholics, on the basis of the one Theandric operation. In Sergius's view "it would be cruel disputatiously to disturb the union which had been scarcely established, for the sake of a question which did not endanger pure doctrine, as must be the case, should the words *μία ἐνέργεια* (one operation) be struck out of the formula, agreeably to the command of Sophronius. Sergius had discussed the matter with him, and Sophronius had not been able to prove the doctrine of a two-fold *ἐνέργεια* (operation) either by patristic, or synodal testimonies. To Cyrus he had written, advising him, in consideration of the peace which had been established, to allow no one to teach either the unity or the duality of the *ἐνέργειαι* (operations), but to limit them to setting forth one and the same Only-begotten Son, who worked everything, both that which be-

fitted God, and that which befitted man. . . . The formula *μία ἐνέργεια* (one operation), although employed by some of the Holy Fathers, wears still a strange face to some, and excites the suspicion that there may be an intention of leading them into Monophysitism; it would therefore be better avoided. The formula *δύο ἐνέργειαι* (two operations) had never been employed by any recognized teacher of the Church, and is a stumbling-block to many, and it should be the more strictly avoided as the assumption of two *ἐνέργειαι* (operations) necessarily involves the positing of two wills, and that of two opposed wills. It is, for example, as though the Logos partially willed the sufferings, and the humanity resisted His will, which would end with the recognition of two subjects, choosing opposite courses; for there cannot be two wills, in reference to the same thing, at the very same time, in one and the same subject. To assert that would be to separate the humanity of Christ from His Deity, and to abolish the Incarnation."*

Honorius answered Sergius on the whole approvingly. Both formulas he regarded as

* Dorner's "Person of Christ," Div. 2, vol. i., pp. 174-75. (For original letters of Sergius and Honorius vide Labbe's "Concilia," vol. vii., p. 951 et seq.)

equally and solely fitted to stir up useless school controversies, but differed from Sergius, who evidently gave the preference to the *μία ἐνέργεια* in not finding it suitable, whether it referred to the natures or to the personality; for the personality has not merely one or two, but many activities; and the natures act, each in its own way; it is therefore right to take no account of the *ἐνέργεια* (the activity, mode of action), but, on the contrary, to go back to the will of Christ.* He, however, echoes the general opinions of Sergius, and declares, "Wherefore we confess one will of our Lord Jesus Christ, because clearly by the Deity was assumed our nature, not the sin in it, clearly (was assumed) the nature which was created before sin, not that which after the fall became corrupt."†

In a second letter of Honorius he says, "Instead of teaching *one operation*, or mode of operation, we ought rather to teach that there is One Operator, Christ, who works by means of both natures; and in place of teaching that there are two operations, we should teach that in the one Person there are two natures, each performing what is appropriate to it."

* Dorner's "Person of Christ," Div. 2, vol. i., pp. 174, 175.

† Labbe's "Concilia" in loc.

Milman credits Honorius with misunderstanding the question, though he admits that the Pope in words declared himself a Monothelite. But "the unity which he asserted was not an identity, but a harmony." Honorius's main argument was "that the sinless human nature of Christ, being ignorant of that other law in the members, warring against the law of the mind, there could be no conflicting or adverse will in the God-Man. The Pope's words were, however, the language of Monothelism, and to them he was bound down with inexorable rigor."*

Sophronius had been made Patriarch in 634 A.D. He died in 637, but before death he led one of his Suffragans, Stephen, Bishop of Dor, to Mount Calvary, and there pledged him to repair to Rome, and never to rest until he should have obtained a condemnation of the Monothelite doctrine.

The agitation continuing, the Emperor in 639 A.D. issued his famous *Ecthesis*. This document, while forbidding the use of the controverted expressions, stated that the term "single operation" caused trouble to some, and the term "two operations" gave offence to many.

The *Ecthesis* was indignantly rejected by the

* Milman's "Latin Christianity," Bk. 4, Chap. vi.

Roman Bishop. Honorius had died in 638, and had been succeeded by Severinus, whose pontificate lasted but a few months. John IV. succeeded him, and with the aid of a Council, rejected the formulary. Heraclius therefore wrote John, disavowing the authorship of the *Ecthesis* and attributing it to Sergius. Heraclius died in 641, and was succeeded by Constantine III. and Heracleonas, and they by Constans II. Sergius had meantime been succeeded by Pyrrhus, a Monothelite, who for a time was reclaimed to the Faith by Maximus, a noble Byzantine, only to relapse into Monothelism, and to be excommunicated by Theodore, now the reigning Pontiff.

In 648 Constans put forth a new formulary, intended to supersede the *Ecthesis*, and known by the name of the *Typus*. This document was in tone less theological than the *Ecthesis*, but forbade the discussion of the controversy. To the Roman party silence seemed treason to truth. Pope Martin I., now on the Pontifical throne, with the concurrence of a hundred and five Bishops at the first Lateran Council (A.D. 649), declared in favor of the doctrine of *two united Wills and two Operations*, the term "one Theandric Operation" being censured by the Council, while Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul, the *Ecthesis* and the *Ty-*

*p*us, were all included in a sweeping anathema. In 653 the Imperial Exarch seized Pope Martin, carried him to Constantinople, paraded and imprisoned him there, and finally banished him to Cherson, where he died. After a lull in the controversy for a while, it broke out again in the reign of Constantine IV. (Pogonatus). A second Council was held in Rome, 678, on the Monothelite question, under the pontificate of Agatho. One hundred and twenty-five Prelates attended this, and among them was notably our English Wilfred, of York. Monothelism was again condemned, and a letter was sent to the Emperor on the subject, intended to serve a like purpose with that of Leo to Flavian, in the Eutychian controversy.

Constantine now determined to summon an Œcumenical Synod, and consequently convened the Third General Council of Constantinople, commonly called the Sixth Œcumenical Council. Its sessions were eighteen in number, and lasted from November 7, 680, to December 16, 681. At the earlier assemblies the number of Bishops was small, but gradually rose to nearly two hundred. The proceedings of this Council were marked by an unusual impartiality and decorum. At the eighth session the Patriarch of Constantinople proclaimed his adhesion to the judgment of

Agatho and the Roman Synod. The Bishops of his Patriarchate followed his example. After many incidents of interest, which cannot here be recounted, "the Monothelites were condemned as holding a heresy akin to that of Apollinarius, Severus, and Themistius, and as destroying the perfection of our Lord's humanity by denying it a will and an operation." The doctrine of the Incarnation was laid down according to the earlier decisions of the Church, and to this was added, "We in like manner, agreeably to the teaching of the holy Fathers, declare that in Him" (our Lord) "there are two natural wills and two operations, without division, change, separation, or confusion. And these natural wills are not contrary, as impious heretics pretend, but the human follows the Divine and Almighty will, not resisting or opposing it, but rather being subject to it; for, according to the most wise Athanasius, it was needful that the will of the flesh should be moved. but that it should be subjected to the Divine will. As this flesh, although deified, was not destroyed by His Godhead, so too, his human will, although deified, was not destroyed." *

In an earlier part of the "Definition of Faith" were these important and memorable words:

* See "Definition of Faith," Hammond's Translation.

"As the author of evil, who in the beginning availed himself of the aid of the Serpent, and by it brought the poison of death upon the human race, has not desisted, but in like manner now, having found suitable instruments for working out his will (we mean Theodorus, who was Bishop of Pharan, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, who were Presidents of this Royal City, and moreover Honorius, who was Pope of the Elder Rome, Cyrus, Bishop of Alexandria, Macairius, who was lately President of Antioch, and Stephen his disciple), has actively employed them in raising up for the whole Church the stumbling-blocks of One Will and One Operation in the two natures of Christ our True God, One of the Holy Trinity," etc. In the thirteenth Actio of the Council, these further words will be found: "And with them we anathematize and cast out of the Holy Catholic Church, Honorius, who was Pope of the Elder Rome, because we have found, through his letters to Sergius, that he followed his opinion in all respects, and confirmed his impious dogmas." This anathema was repeated in subsequent acts of the Council, in the Synodal letter to Pope Agatho, and in each of these acts the Papal Legates took part, and signed their names. A sixth repetition of this anathema took place in the Edict of the Emperor

embodying the action of the Council. Pope Leo the Second concurred in the Anathema against Honorius by name, speaking of him as one "who, instead of laboring to keep the Apostolic Church pure by the teaching of Apostolic tradition, suffered it, the immaculate, to be polluted through his profane betrayal." The anathema of Honorius was repeated in the Quinisext Council, in the Second Council of Nice (sometimes called the Seventh General Council) and in that which Rome recognized as the eighth. It was also very notably incorporated into the Breviary, and there remained for a thousand years. The anathema was recognized in other directions, which we need not here specify.

This anathema gives unique importance to this Sixth General Council. The appearance made by Vigilius in the events connected with the Fifth Council, was evil enough and suggestive enough; that made by the letters and dogmatic determinations of Honorius, before the Sixth Œcumenical Synod, is most final and conclusive in its bearing upon the necessary infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. The teaching of the Roman Church of to-day is, that our Lord has granted, by way of a special grace, to S. Peter and his successors in the See of Rome, "that infallibility with which the Divine

Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed, for defining doctrine regarding faith and morals," and that this has always been a part of the faith (the language of the Constitution *Pastor Æternus* runs "therefore faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian Faith . . . we teach and define, that it is a dogma divinely revealed, etc."). The inference therefore must be, that no Pope has ever erred or can err, but that his pronouncements, whenever uttered *ex cathedra* in his office of pastor and doctor of the Universal Church, are infallible, irreformable of themselves, absolutely and necessarily true, and must ever have been so.

In view of these latter-day pretensions, the anathematization of Pope Honorius I. by the Sixth General Council, has become a subject of sore difficulty to the Roman theologians. Every possible argument has been adduced to evacuate the anathema of its force. Men have gone so far as to deny that Honorius was anathematized; to assert that all the documents, Greek and Latin, Acts of Councils, and Popes' letters which declare it, have been forged. Others have affirmed the orthodoxy of Honorius's letters, in the face of the Council's careful consideration and analysis of them, and in the face of Pope Leo's admission that Honorius

had defiled the Immaculate See through his profane betrayal. It has been claimed again that he was unjustly condemned; that the Council was mistaken as to dogmatic fact, etc., etc.

The only possible plea for Honorius is the one which is most generally made, that his letters were not *ex cathedra*, and hence do not involve the point of the Pope's dogmatic Infallibility, as defined by the Vatican Council. As to this point it is only necessary to note that there is among Roman theologians no agreement as to what constitutes an *ex cathedra* utterance. Meantime we must not abdicate common sense in any interpretation of "*ex cathedra*," and the obvious rational meaning of the phrase must be, that whatever the Pope utters as Bishop of Rome, after proper thought and reflection, and in a solemn manner officially, and for the instruction of the faithful, in respect of faith and morals, must be *ex cathedra*.

It is taught by some minimizers of this doctrine that only Encyclicals addressed formally to the whole Church, are *ex cathedra*. Now it is a very well known fact that such documents, as a rule, are not drawn up by the Pontiffs themselves. The thinking which they represent is not that of the Pope's own mind, but, rather the conclusions of the theologians whom he consults. It is a notorious fact, respecting

the late Pius IX., that he was personally incapable of so learned a production as the *Syllabus*. Celestine V. resigned the Papacy, because of recognized incapacity for its duties, even though it is said that miracles were wrought during his journey to his coronation. The Papal Infallibility is a personal endowment. It has never been taught that it is transferable to others, and therefore it is not possible of residence in the Papal theologians.

And surely when looked at in a common-sense way, if any utterances ever were, or ever should have been, *ex cathedra* the letters of Honorius to Sergius were or should have been so. The subject was the greatest of all possible themes, the Incarnation of God in humanity; and the whole Church was stirred by the issues relating to it, with which the letters of Honorius were concerned. Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, even England, were interested in it; the integrity of the faith itself was at issue. Surely there never was an occasion when it was more certainly the Roman Pontiff's duty to God, to the Church, and to the World to use every gift and light, natural and supernatural, for delivering a right judgment. And Honorius did not write in a light or trifling or off-hand or unofficial manner. He decided authoritatively "for the instruction and knowl-

edge of those who (were) in perplexity." Notwithstanding all these solemn circumstances, both he and his opinions were anathematized as heretical.

Whether, however, he was justly or unjustly condemned ; whether he was rightly judged or was misunderstood ; whether he wrote *ex cathedra* or not, he was as a matter of fact anathematized as a heretic ; and his condemnation bears witness to this certain fact, that in the latter part of the seventh century, a General Council of the Universal Church manifestly knew of no reason why a Roman Pontiff should not teach heresy ; and that Council really believed one recently living to have done so. This point it is impossible to escape. No special pleadings or subterfuges of argument can evacuate the anathema of the Council of this significance ; and hence the Roman authorities might as well ask educated men to believe that Oliver Cromwell was Emperor of France, as to demand their acceptance of the tenet as *de fide* that the Universal Church has always believed the Roman Pontiffs, even speaking *ex cathedra*, to be of necessity infallible. Rome placed the last fatal barrier between herself and the intelligence of men who are not carried away by despair, or by what Mr. Gladstone has memorably called "pious appetite," when the Vatican Council

made this dogma a necessary part of the Roman Creed. There are many men to whom the Council of Trent, and its special dogmas, present no insuperable difficulties. Even the Decree of the Immaculate Conception of Mary is speculatively within the acceptance of many educated minds, but the principle of the *ex cathedra* infallibility of the Roman Pontiffs, as an integral part of the deposit of the Faith and as always believed by the Universal Church, is so impossible, historically, that only by an abnormal process of thinking, or by ceasing to think at all of things as they really are and really have been, can men accept this latest dogma of the Roman obedience.

I refrain from here saying anything of the logical results of this dogma upon the life of nations, or upon the providential growth and education of the world. The dogma, with the Syllabus of Pius IX. as one of its concomitants, raises the most serious issues in respect of national, political, and personal freedom. One of the errors condemned by the Syllabus (23d) is, that "the Roman Pontiffs and Œcumenical Councils have exceeded the limits of their power, have usurped the rights of princes, and have even committed errors in defining matters of faith and morals."*

* Vide "Syllabus Errorum."

It has been truly remarked that though the Syllabus is only negative, indirectly it teaches and enjoins the very opposite of what it condemns as error. The condemnation of the twenty-third proposition or "error" above mentioned, means that Gregory VII.'s claim to supreme jurisdiction over the sovereignty and the obedience of nations was a just claim. Dr. Egar has truly remarked, that "the programme of Gregory VII. was a political programme. It proposed to reduce the State, as well as the Church to absolute subjection to the Papacy, to make the Pope the supreme lord of every earthly power, as well as the fountain of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. And this has been the claim of all his successors, a claim which has never been abandoned. Innocent III. declared that God had ordained the Pope, as Christ's vicar, "to have power over all nations and kingdoms, to root out, to pull down and to destroy, and to throw down and to build and to plant, appropriating to the Papacy the text in the first chapter of Jeremiah."* Innocent IV. went still further than any of his predecessors, when, in pronouncing the deposition of Frederick the Second, he declared that Christ bestowed on S. Peter and his successors, not

* Paddock Lectures for 1887 (Egar), p. 255.

only Pontifical, but regal power, earthly as well as heavenly and spiritual government.* Boniface VIII. in his conflict with Philip the Fair of France, issued, together with other Bulls, that known as *Unam Sanctam*. Of this Bull Waddington writes, "The propositions asserted in this celebrated constitution are, first, the Unity of the Holy Catholic Church, without which there is no salvation; wherein is one Lord, one faith, one baptism. Hence it follows, that of this one and only Church there is one Body and one Head (not two heads, which would be monstrous), namely, Christ, and Christ's vicar, S. Peter and the successor of S. Peter. The second proposition is, that in the power of this Chief, are two swords, the one spiritual and the other material; but that the former of these is to be used by the Church, the latter for the Church; the former is in the hand of the priest, the latter in the hands of kings and soldiers, but at the nod and sufferance of the priest. It is next asserted that one of these swords must be subject to the other sword, otherwise we must suppose two opposite principles, which would be Manichæan and heretical. Thence it is an easy inference, that the spiritual is that which has rule over the other, while itself is

* Robertson, 8vo ed., p. 577, note H.

liable to no other judgment or authority than that of God. The general conclusion is contained in one short sentence, "wherefore we declare, define, and pronounce that it is absolutely essential to the salvation of every human being, that he be subject unto the Roman Pontiff."* These are the claims which, according to the Syllabus, must not be rejected as exceeding the limits of the power of the Roman Pontiffs. It is most difficult to reconcile pretensions such as the above, reaffirmed as they are potentially by the Syllabus and made *de fide* by the dogma of the Pope's infallibility, with the liberties and the institutions which God's Providence has granted to modern life and the modern nations. This dogma, then, so incompatible with the fact of Honorius's anathematization, and so freighted with the political consequences above suggested, has more than ever isolated Rome, and widened the breach between the Oriental Churches and herself, as also between Anglican Christianity and the educated world generally of the West, and the Apostolic See. Until it shall be repudiated, or at least explained in such way as shall reconcile it with history, this dogma of the Papal Infallibility must more and more

* Waddington's "History of the Church," p. 352.

lessen the moral weight of the Church of Rome in the world, and must obstruct and prevent that Christian unity which can only be obtained on Œcumenical and historical bases.

Summing up now the practical results of the Second and Third Councils of Constantinople, we may say in respect of the first of these, that (1) it extirpated Nestorianism within the church's own borders; (2) by its anathema of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and of all who declared him to be "an orthodox expounder," it struck a note of warning against that spirit and temper of the Antiochian school, which has been singularly paralleled in our day by a certain tone manifesting itself in much of what we hear called the "higher criticism;" (3) by its anathema of Origen, it struck a note of warning also against a method of teaching in respect of certain subjects (also familiar to our times) which tends to evacuate the Gospel of its economical influence. The results of the second of the Councils above considered, we may say to have been (1) that by its condemnation of Monothelitism, it added to the scope and clearness of the Church's dogmatic apprehension; (2) by its anathematization of a Roman Pope as a heretic, it has delivered the world from the illusion of a Papal inerrancy.

Surely for these results we may be most

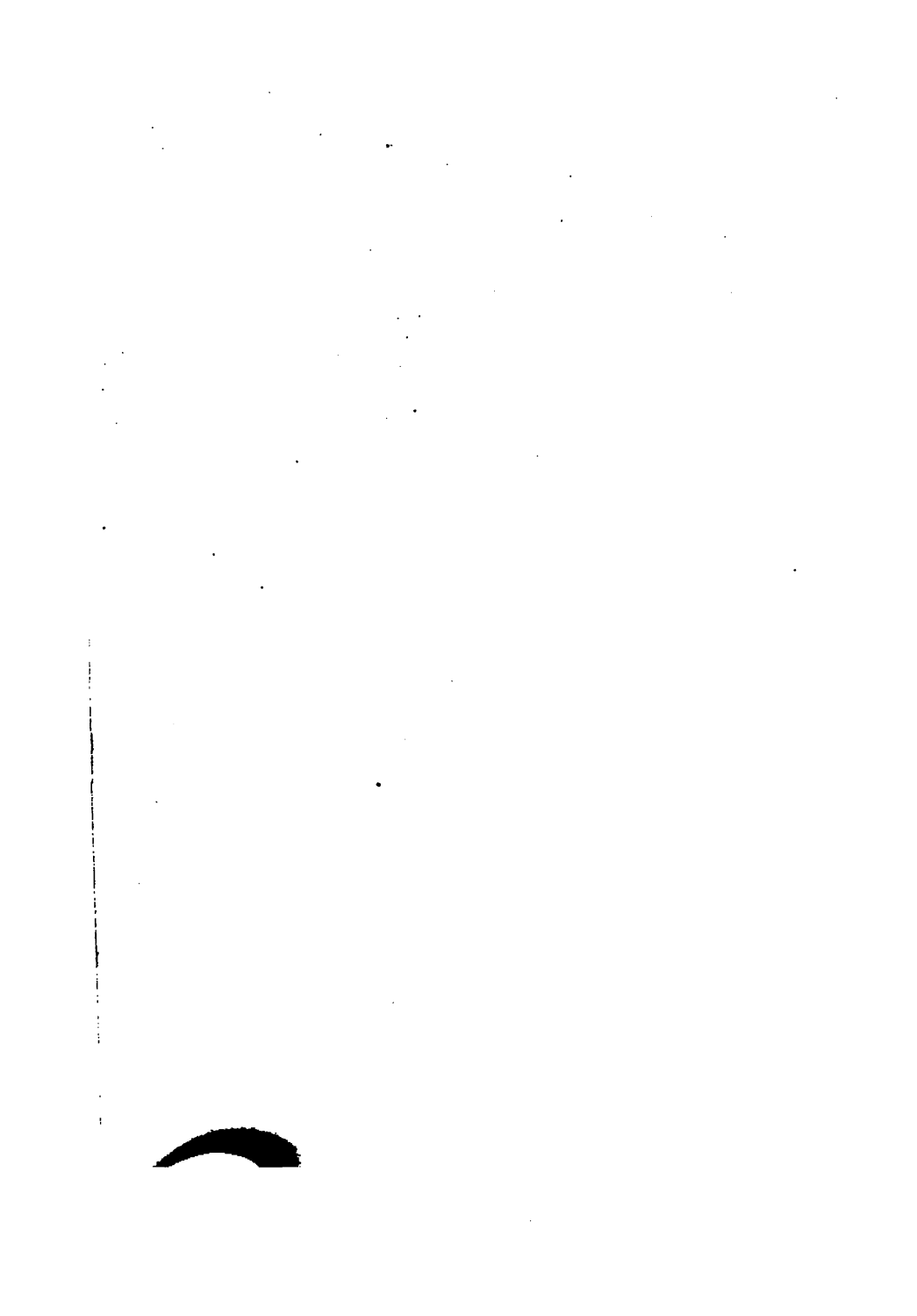
thankful. The Councils which have given us these securities of faith, these witnesses to the pure and simple doctrine and tradition of the Church, we shall rightly hold in grateful reverence, seeing in them organs of the Holy Ghost; hearing from them a voice potential even in our Nineteenth Century, in guarding us against errors, dogmatic, intellectual, speculative, and ecclesiastical.

The Fifth and Sixth Œcumenical Councils passed no canons of discipline. This was left for what was known as the Quinisext or Trullan Council assembled in Constantinople 692 A.D. or somewhat later, by Justinian II. Its name *Quinisext*, indicates its supplementary relation to the Fifth and Sixth Œcumenical Synods. This council has a certain practical importance, because among the canons enacted by it, there were six that were most displeasing to the Roman Church. The sixth canon, *e.g.*, renewed the canons of the Second and Fourth General Councils, as to the privileges of the See of Constantinople. The thirteenth canon permitted those of the clergy who had married before ordination as sub-deacons, to retain their wives. The fifty-fifth canon ordered that the "Apostolical" canon, which forbade fasting on any Saturday except Easter Eve, should be extended to the Church of Rome. "In con-

tradicting Roman usages, the thirtieth and fifty-fifth canons expressly stated that they were such, and required the Roman Church to abandon them." The recognition of these canons by the East, where they were quoted as the work of the Sixth General Council, and their rejection by Rome, became the first manifest step toward the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches.

Most fortunately, however, before the break at last came, the faith of the Undivided Church had been declared; her Catholic and world-wide institutions established; her words of warning uttered. And to-day, in the face of what we must sadly call a divided Christendom, we can yet rejoice that in every part of the Catholic Household there is still One Lord, One Faith, One Order, One Liturgical Worship (in substance), One Established System, which no divisions really impair, but which over all the earth are the joy of the faithful, the strength of the weak, the beacon-light of the erring, the refuge of souls in time and for eternity.

It seems scarcely necessary to say that the Church Club is not responsible for any individual opinions on points, not ruled by the Church, which, the learned theologians who have been good enough to lecture under its auspices, may have expressed.



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